READING REVOLUTION

Art and Literacy during China's Cultural Revolution

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Reading Revolution:
Art and Literacy during China's Cultural Revolution

Exhibition and catalogue by
Jennifer Purtle and Elizabeth Ridolfo
with the contribution of Stephen Qiao

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The cadres of all types, fighters in the army, workers in the factories and peasants in the villages all want to read books and newspapers once they become literate, and those who are illiterate want to see plays and operas, look at drawings and paintings, sing songs and hear music; they are the audience for our works of literature and art. Take the cadres alone. Do not think they are few; they far outnumber the readers of any book published in the Kuomintang [*Guomindang*, aka KMT] areas. There, an edition usually runs to only 2,000 copies, and even three editions add up to only 6,000; but as for the cadres in the base areas, in Yenan [Yan'an] alone there are more than 10,000 who read books.

–Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature," 2 May 1942

各种干部，部队的战士，工厂的工人，农村的农民，他们识了字，就要看书、看报，不识字的，也要看戏、看画、唱歌、听音乐，他们就是我们文艺作品的接受者。即拿干部说，你们不要以为这部分人数目少，这比在国民党统治区出一本书的读者多得多。在那里，一本书一版平常只有两千册，三版也才六千册；但是根据地的干部，单是在延安能看书的就有一万多。

– 毛泽东，«在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话» 一九四二年五月二日

Preface

Elizabeth Eisenstein's groundbreaking work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, documented the impact of the invention of printing on European culture but surely another dramatic example is the impact of Mao's *Quotations* on Chinese society during the Cultural Revolution. Known familiarly as 'The Little Red Book' because of its size and distinctive red vinyl cover, most sources cite the figure of one billion copies printed, in the period after its initial publication in 1964-1965. Prof. Jennifer Purtle shows how the entire Chinese population of 700 million was exposed to it, as both its form and content were pervasive and ubiquitous. She argues further that this phenomenon led to increased literacy, as the Little Red Book was used as a primer for both children and adults learning to read. The texts were disseminated as spoken recordings and set to music, and were combined with complex and accomplished imagery on posters, as well as being published in a small, portable format and in newspapers and other easily accessible mass media. This exhibition showcases both the artwork and the printed work of the period, especially material from the early years of the cultural revolution, from 1966 to 1969. The items were selected from the Gayn collection in the Fisher Library, and the collections in the Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library. The text has been written by Prof. Jennifer Purtle, working in consultation with China Studies Librarian Stephen Qiao.

Thanks to the extraordinary efforts of journalist Mark Gayn, the Fisher Library is fortunate to have examples of many different types of cultural artifacts in addition to the much better known posters. Some of the Gayn posters were on display several years ago at the University of Toronto Art Centre and exhibitions showcasing Gayn's long and diverse career have also been mounted in the past, but many of the photographs, games, toys, pins, badges, audio recordings and prints have never been shown, and are now scarce both in and outside China. Mark Gayn was uniquely positioned as a collector. Although a foreigner he was a Chinese speaker, having been born in China, educated there and in Russia, as well as the United States. He was also familiar with China's recent history and culture from trips there in both the 1930s and 1940s. He collected the material in person during his travels in China while stationed in Hong Kong as the Toronto Star's Asia bureau chief between 1966 and 1972. This exhibition has made it possible to display some of the richness and depth of the textual and other material in the Gayn collection, especially that which was produced at the early period of the Cultural Revolution. Fisher Librarian Liz Ridolfo has provided background information on Gayn's life and the donation of his archive to the Fisher Library in her prefatory biographical essay.

The exhibition itself is organized around specific chapters in the Little Red Book and the posters chosen for inclusion are those which illustrate and reproduce specific quotations. Walking around the exhibition one cannot help but be struck by the unified message conveyed in and through all the artefacts on display as Mao's words are repurposed and amplified in multiple media, and depicted as an integral part of Chinese life.

Anne Dondertman
Associate Chief Librarian for Special Collections and
Director, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Introduction

Reading Revolution: Art and Literacy during China's Cultural Revolution could not have been envisaged without access to the wealth of materials gathered together by the noted journalist and authority on world politics and Asian affairs, Mark Gayn (1909-1981). The generous donation of this collection to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in 1981 by Gayn and his wife Suzanne has made available unique material describing pivotal historical events of the twentieth century to scholars, as well as to the general public. The importance of the material is enhanced by the fact that it was collected by a perceptive and acute observer of the events of his time as they were unfolding. This is especially true of the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

Mark Gayn was born Mark Julius Ginsbourg in 1909 in Barim, a small town near the Manchurian-Mongolian border, to educated Russian-Jewish parents. His father fled the Russian Revolution and worked in the timber business—his mother was a cultured woman who studied to become a dentist after having already become a mother of three. His early childhood was spent living a rough frontier life, exposed to a variety of marginalized people travelling through or displaced to the region, and witnessing the turbulence of Chinese politics and the Russian Revolution. In his first autobiography, *Journey from the East*, he reflected on the deep impression these early years made on him. Gayn's sometimes lonely and sometimes busy environment nurtured both his introverted and extroverted sides, and the stomach-turning scenes of violence that he witnessed as a young person contributed to making him a pacifist.

The family moved first from Barim to Harbin, then to several isolated railway outposts, then to Vladivostock, and later to Shanghai. During this period he and his brother were either privately tutored or attended Russian, Chinese, and English schools, where Gayn's experiences stimulated his curiosity and interest in journalism. He described focusing on politics, philosophy and history, engaging in lively political debates, and finding his calling while reading a Russian-style wall newspaper in his elementary school in Harbin. This inspired Gayn to contribute to the school paper and, when this no longer satisfied his journalistic ambitions, he printed his own paper at home for his mother and brothers, at a cost of ten cents an issue. At fourteen, Gayn sold his first two articles to the *Red Banner* in Vladivostok. The following year, he expressed an interest in writing on the international rivalry for the Pacific, and his mother encouraged him to begin a book which would be published seventeen years later as *Fight for the Pacific*. During a junior college practicum placement in an army library,

he observed how the minds of Russian soldiers were shaped by debate and the careful curation of reading material-observations which must have resonated with him during his later visits to China during the Cultural Revolution.

In the fall of 1929, Gayn left China to study political science at Pomona College in California, where he soon became editor-in-chief of the daily student newspaper. After graduating, he received a Pulitzer travelling scholarship and attended the Columbia School of Journalism (now the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism). His formal education complete, Gayn returned to Asia in 1934 and became the *Washington Post*'s Shanghai special correspondent. He also accepted a position as an editor in the English section of the Japanese Rengo News Agency, later renamed Domei Tsushin-sha, and subsequently wrote for the *China Weekly Review* and anonymously for the *China Press*. Gayn often used pseudonyms during this period to protect his identity because many of his articles were critical of Japanese actions in China, and for the same reasons changed his name from Ginsbourg to Gayn once he returned to the United States. His work appeared in the *Chicago Sun*, *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Colliers* among other news sources, and was syndicated in publications such as the *Chicago Daily News* and the *New York Times*. Gayn returned to Tokyo in 1945 as the *Chicago Sun*'s bureau chief for Japan and Korea, which resulted in the publication in 1948 of *Japan Diary*, his bestselling account of the U.S. occupation of Japan following its surrender at the end of the Second World War (a sequel, *New Japan Diary*, available only in a Japanese-language edition, appeared the year after his death). In 1947 Gayn was sent by the tabloid *PM Daily* to China to interview several leaders of the Communist Party in their mountain stronghold at Yenan, two years before they came to power. There, he met with Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, and conducted an extensive interview with Mao Zedong lasting 10 hours, with only a short break for lunch. Around this time articles by Gayn began appearing in the *Toronto Star* and a permanent relationship would be established in 1959 when he joined the staff of that paper as its Eastern affairs expert and editorial writer.

Gayn moved to Paris in the late 1940s, travelling throughout Europe and spending more than eighteen months behind the Iron Curtain filing reports on the political and social situation in these countries. It was while he was stationed in Europe that he met his future wife, Suzanne. Though they eventually settled in Canada, Gayn spent the rest of his life travelling the world and reporting on the important events of the day, often accompanied by Suzanne. As the *Toronto Star's* Asia bureau chief stationed in Hong Kong between 1966 and 1972, he was a witness to the political upheaval in China during the Cultural Revolution, and was one of a small number of journalists allowed to visit North Korea.

Gayn returned to China several times and on these visits he collected art and artefacts as well as printed books, ephemera and audiovisual materials, especially those related to the Cultural Revolution, which he acquired on his 1965, 1967, and 1971 trips. He also took copious notes and excellent photographs, and sent long and descriptive letters home to his wife when she was not travelling with him. Suzanne also had a keen eye, and some of her photographs and observations from their 1967 trip to China were published in a short series in the *Ottawa Citizen* and also appear in this exhibition.

In Mark Gayn's letters to Suzanne from China, he spoke of his excitement at acquiring posters, films, wall hangings and other items from the Cultural Revolution that he then had shipped home, and he described his days in detail. The warmth and enthusiasm in these letters showed both their strong personal relationship and Gayn's passion for his work, while the high level of detail and frequent references back to his other notes or journals indicate that they doubled as research notes.

During his 1965 China trip Gayn described creating a list of categories of people he wished to interview, and expressed frustration with competition from other foreign journalists and writers, struggling to get exclusive access to key figures who, he hoped, could give him detailed information on the changes he was observing in China. Instead of meeting economists, politicians or the heads of writers' associations, he was taken to endless communes, schools, and factories. Gayn interviewed incessantly and took notes on everything he saw, including activities of school children and the songs they performed, the prices of goods, the wages of workers, the conditions in factories and schools, birth control methods, social habits and popular reading material. He saw Mao's words quoted and repeated in many forms, and among the scenes he described or photographed were posters, slogans, public readings, and dance performances that referenced or incorporated Mao's books, especially *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*, colloquially known as 'The Little Red Book'. During the 1965 trip Gayn also revisited Harbin, and found it dramatically changed from his youth, cleaner and more orderly, with factories and universities on the outskirts, but at the centre a dilapidated shadow of the place he remembered, with most of the ethnic Russians long gone. Some of these experiences were described in a series of articles for the *Star Weekly*, which were also syndicated in the *New York Times* and the *Times of London.* Gayn also began drafts of books on the Cultural Revolution, which, sadly, he never completed.

Reading Revolution: Art and Literacy during China's Cultural Revolution is the third exhibition that has focused extensively on materials found in the Mark Gayn collection. Some of the items have been digitized and shared online on the Fisher Library's Flickr page, while other original material has been used in teaching. The immense research

value of the collection is evidenced by the positive responses and curiosity it engenders. Gayn was a sharp-eyed chronicler of the Cultural Revolution and other key events that took place during the twentieth century, and the Fisher Library is fortunate to make a portion of the remarkable collection available to the public through this exhibition.

Elizabeth Ridolfo
Special Collections Projects Librarian
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Mark Gayn and Liu Shaoqi (马克·盖恩与刘少奇在延安的合影). 1947.

A Note to the Reader

Romanization and Chinese characters:
The focus of this catalogue on reading and literacy has led this author to transcribe both romanizations of Chinese words and Chinese characters exactly as they were written in primary sources at the time of their publication. The materials studied, however, belong to a period of language reform in the PRC, as the catalogue describes. This means that while the new simplified characters (简体字) and Pinyin (拼音; aka 汉语拼音) romanization were prevalent during the 1960s, they were not yet used exclusively in publications; the use of traditional characters (繁體字), Wade-Giles Romanization (韋氏拼音), and for place names Postal Romanization (郵政式拼音) persisted, sometimes intermixed with the new systems. The reason that the original usages have been preserved in this text is to show the complexity of the Chinese language and its transformation during the 1960s. Outside the transcription of sources of the period, Romanization follows the Pinyin system and Chinese characters are written in their simplified form.

Translations:
The English-language translations of Mao Zedong's works in this catalogues are all taken from the translations officially published and distributed by the Foreign Language Press. While this author occasionally offers an alternative to those translations to enhance accuracy or illuminate a point, the officially issued English-language translations of Mao's works conditioned the reception and understanding of Mao's works outside China, and thus are used here; translations of popular songs and slogans of the period also follow those published by Chinese state media organizations. Translations of previously untranslated materials are my own.

Footnotes:
To make this catalogue as accessible to general audiences as possible, and to align it with prior catalogues accompanying exhibitions at the Fisher Library, for example, *Maximum Imaginativeness: Modern Czech Book Design* (2015), this catalogue contains no footnotes. Citations have been written into the narrative of the text; sources consulted can be found in 'Works Consulted and Further Reading.'

Jennifer Purtle
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Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). *Monument to Mao's Works* (有林彪题词广州街头的《毛泽东选集》纪念碑.). 1967.

Reading Revolution:

Literacy and Art during China's Cultural Revolution

To be literate is to live in a world that can be represented and recovered in media that record written words, dense and durable examples of which are books. Yet in China for much of the twentieth century, literacy rates were low and access to books for those outside the Confucian- and/or Western-educated élite was limited. While a person who cannot read at all may still make use of a book as a material object, their relationship to the readable content of the book may be profoundly different than the experience of the functionally illiterate, of those at varying levels of literacy, and of the fully literate, especially adult literati.

Much has been written about *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (毛主席语录), particularly its ideological context. The final form of the book consists of 427 epigrams drawn from the works of the Communist revolutionary Mao Zedong 毛泽东 (1893-1976), founder of the People's Republic of China and Chairman of the Communist Party of China (中国共产党, hereafter CPC), arranged into thirty-three thematic chapters. The most widely published book in the latter half of the twentieth century, Mao's *Quotations* was extensively disseminated in China and abroad. Standard narratives of the *Quotations* examine its publication with respect to China's domestic and international politics. Yet the *Quotations* and the proletarian culture that developed around it, most notably during the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命 *wenhua da geming*), point to a more fundamental function of this text: mass engagement with literacy, reading, and book culture. During the mid to late 1960s, the presence of the *Quotations* in daily life fostered reading skills across the spectrum of literacy in China, a project amplified by the widespread availability of the text. Moreover, the ubiquity of the *Quotations* socialized its owners and readers to cultures of text, calligraphy, and the book.

Whatever its political aims or achievements, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and its dissemination in print transformed ordinary Chinese – workers, peasants, and soldiers – into readers. This essay begins by exploring personal ownership of Mao's *Quotations* in the larger context of China beginning in 1966. It then seeks to show how the *Quotations* and its culture encouraged reading and the acquisition of literacy through oral recitation, visual recognition, active reproduction, and applied use of the text. Given that the *Quotations* was compiled from other writings by Mao Zedong, mastery of the *Quotations* led able readers into larger worlds of literacy and Communist ideology by providing them with the vocabulary and conceptual fluency to parse longer, more complex texts. The ability to read Mao's *Quotations*, in whole or in part, thus expanded and standardized literacy throughout China, thereby establishing a national community constituted by print.

The Feel of the Book: Mao's *Quotations* as a Learning Tool and Literacy Talisman

To own a book is to participate in a culture of literacy at the most basic level. For in owning a book an illiterate person is placed at the threshold of reading where written text is proximate and available for use or study even if it cannot be comprehended, let alone fully, when it is first acquired. In such a case, the book also becomes a talisman of literacy, even if that literacy is not yet realized. Possession of the printed word thus serves as both a tool for learning to read and an artifact of the desire to master that skill. At the most basic level, personal possession of the written word creates opportunities for reading, as tactile engagement with the book as an object is the first step of a future reader towards a text.

The existence of a highly developed print culture does not necessarily indicate widespread literacy, especially when the ownership of books is limited to an educated élite. Centuries before Gutenberg, the Chinese invented printing and paper-making. By the time of Gutenberg, printers active in a succession of Chinese empires had published a far larger number of titles, and in editions of far greater size, than their European successors. Yet historically in China only a small number of select readers consumed large quantities of books. Thus despite the existence of an enormous and dynamic book culture, literacy rates remained low with the ability to read confined principally to the Confucian official class and religious practitioners, although popular literacy notably increased in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By the middle of the twentieth century, many Chinese peasants hailed from families that had, for centuries if not millennia, neither owned books nor possessed the skills to read them.

Measuring literacy is especially difficult in an environment of low literacy. In his report 'On Coalition Government' (论联合政府), made to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist party of China on 24 April 1945, Chairman Mao noted: 'The elimination of illiteracy among eighty per cent of the population is a vital task for the new China.' (从百分之八十的人口中扫除文盲，是新中国的一项重要工作). In this same report Mao also mentioned that:

> It is the peasants who are the chief concern of China's cultural movement at the present stage. If the 360 million peasants are left out, do not the 'elimination of illiteracy,' 'popularization of education,' 'literature and art for the masses' and 'public health' become largely empty talk? In saying this, I am of course not ignoring the political, economic and cultural importance of the rest of the people numbering about 90 million, and in particular am not ignoring the working class, which is politically the most conscious and therefore qualified to lead the whole revolutionary movement. Let there be no misunderstanding.

农民 —这是现阶段中国文化运动的主要对象。所谓扫除文盲，所谓普及教育，所谓大众文艺，所谓国民卫生，离开了三亿六千万农民，岂非大半成了空话？我这样说，当然不是忽视其它约占人口九千万的人民在政治上经济上文化上的重要性，尤其不是忽视在政治上最觉悟因而具有领导整个革命运动的资格的工人阶级，这是不应该发生误会的。

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the CPC pursued literacy through multiple approaches. These included: language reform that simplified Chinese characters and their Romanization; literacy guidelines and adult education that systematized how many Chinese characters needed to be learned by which professions; and commitment to universal primary education. Statistics on literacy in China from 1949 to 1979, while variable, indicate sustained rises. One of the most optimistic of statistics suggests that literacy in China grew from forty-three per cent in 1964 to sixty-five per cent in 1982 including, in 1982, a ninety per cent literacy rate for those fifteen to nineteen years old.

Figure 1. *Worker, peasant, and soldier with Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (工农兵高举毛主席语录). From *Selected Papercuts after [Mao's] Quotations* (语录画刻纸选). Ca. 1968.

The proliferation of the ownership of books underscores the importance of reading. Between 1966 and 1971, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* was printed more than one billion times in Chinese for a population of approximately 700 million. At a time of collective ownership of most things, these books, simple and ideological though they are, became the personal possessions of a populace whose literacy rates were rising steadily, a rise perhaps facilitated by access to books for private study. Images of the period, for example, *Worker, Peasant, and Soldier with Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (fig. 1), one of a set of papercuts entitled *Selected Papercuts after [Mao's] Quotations* purchased by Mark Gayn in China in July 1968, celebrate individual ownership of this book by picturing its triumphant possession. For those who hailed from families that, for multiple generations,

had been too poor to own books that they could not read, personal ownership of a book was the first step towards acquiring the skills to read it.

The Sound of Mao's Words: The *Quotations* as Slogan, Song, and Recitation

Even as the written word can be read silently, it can also be spoken aloud, bridging the gap between cultures of orality and literacy. In alphabetic languages, this practice connects letters to sounds, revealing the correspondence of spelling to speech. In non-alphabetic languages, the linking of sound to script is differently complex. Logographic languages, such as Chinese, represent meaning rather than sound, or represent some combination thereof. As a result, literacy in logographic languages cannot be acquired by applying knowledge of an alphabet or syllabary to oral comprehension of that language. Instead, the correlation of sound and meaning must be learned by rote.

To bring the written word to the illiterate masses, and thus to facilitate rote correlation of sound and written word, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* circulated orally and audially as well as in script. The impetus to memorize pithy excerpts from Mao's *Quotations* facilitated the entry of these quotations into the oral and audial cultures of the Cultural Revolution, a movement initiated by Mao in 1966 to eradicate bourgeois and reactionary elements in Chinese society. Lin Biao 林彪 (1907-1971), Vice Premier of the PRC and a decorated military leader, promoted learning Mao's sayings by heart in his 'Foreword to the Second [Chinese] Edition' (再版前言) of the *Quotations* of 16 December 1966. Specifically Lin recommended that:

> So as truly to have Mao Zedong Thought in hand, [one] must repeatedly study Chairman Mao's many fundamental viewpoints; some [of his] aphorisms are best memorized, repeatedly studied, [and] repeatedly put to use.
>
> 为了把毛泽东思想真正学到手，要反复学习毛主席的许多基本观点，有些警句最好要背熟，反复学习，反复运用。

Lin Biao makes clear that the memorization of Mao's epigrams is critical to the application of Mao Zedong Thought, an anti-Revisionist form of Marxism-Leninism that took peasants, not industrial workers, to be the essential revolutionary class in China. This is because what is remembered can be recalled to address practical questions. Lin thus justified the use of short excerpts from the *Quotations* as sentence-long slogans, regardless of their context and irrespective of whether the person memorizing Mao's quotation could, in fact, read it.

To expand the amount of text committed to memory, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* were set to music, with melody serving as a mnemonic device for text. Consequently, the *Quotations* circulated as song, exemplified by phonograph records in the Gayn collection that include *Quotations from Chairman Mao Set To Music* (为毛主席語录譜曲, fig. 2) issued by the China Record Company in 1967. The twenty-two arrangements of the *Quotations* set to music had been previously published in the *People's Daily* (人民日报) on 30 September, 12 October, and 25 October 1966. On 30 September 1967, one year after the publication of the first arrangements, the *People's Daily* reiterated the importance of the songs, noting:

> Songs to the *Quotations from Chairman Mao* had already appeared, [and were] immediately accepted with the warm welcome of our nation's vast masses of peasants, workers and soldiers, Red Guards and 'Small Generals' of the Revolution, and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. When they have these songs on their lips, [the *Quotations*] are imprinted on their hearts [and minds], [allowing them to] take the instructions of Chairman Mao and implement [them] in [their] actions.

毛主席语录歌一经出现，立即受到我国广大工农兵群众、红卫兵革命小将、革命干部和革命知识分子的热烈欢迎。他们把毛主席语录歌唱在口上，印在心上，把毛主席的指示落实在行动上。

Figure 2. *Quotations from Chairman Mao Set to Music* (为毛主席語录譜曲). Beijing: China Record Company, 1967.

Significantly, the text notes that singing 'imprints' the *Quotations* in people's hearts and minds. Here the point of singing is made clear: it is through singing that the *Quotations* are learned by heart, and thus committed to memory. Radio broadcasting of the *Quotations* both as spoken text and song contributed to a shared audial and oral culture

of their recitation, with recorded songs used for this purpose within China. From audial and oral memory, songs and slogans could subsequently be recognized in their written form, thereby serving as a foundation for the acquisition of literacy.

Figure 3. Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). *On the train to Guangzhou* (在广州的火车车箱内列车员读毛主席语录). 1967.

In traditional China, recitation and repeated reading served as means by which literacy in logographic characters was acquired. During the Cultural Revolution, these traditional practices of achieving literacy in Chinese characters persisted alongside sloganeering and singing, both for school children and for peasants and factory workers. School children, for example, repeatedly recited passages from the *Quotations* in unison, alternatively chanting and singing Mao's words. Such recitation – or perhaps singing – is rendered in *Little Red Soldiers Picture Cubes: Face One, Red Propaganda Team* from the Mark Gayn collection, which depicts three young children, their mouths open in unison, sounding out the words of the *Quotations*. Workers of all ages similarly engaged in practices of reciting and/or reading in unison, as shown in a photograph by Suzanne Gayn, *On the train to Guangzhou* (fig. 3). Slogan, song, and recitation thus provided audial and oral engagements with script, thereby serving as means by which the sound of characters could be connected to their logographic forms.

The Sight of the Text: Visually Decoding Mao's *Quotations* from their Posters

Where once the written word served only as visual image for the illiterate masses, ownership of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and participation in its audial and oral cultures created the preconditions for script – understood as figure and not as word – to become text, legible both on its own and when accompanied by pictures. Decoding illustrations of the *Quotations*, and deciphering the Chinese characters used to write them, required parallel processes of iconographic analysis and reading. In the case of a poster composed both of the printed text of a Mao quotation and an accompanying illustration, a viewer at the threshold of literacy, who knew the text by heart, might use the visual imagery to gain clues about the context of the passage printed on the poster. By drawing upon knowledge of context indicated by pictures, such a viewer might make an informed guess about the identity of the quotation, ultimately deciphering it by matching the sounds of its memorized words to the characters printed on the poster. By triangulating between pictorial form, text known by heart, and script, a viewer at or just beyond the threshold of literacy could use their powers of deduction to identify the characters of the text.

The unified message of the content of a quotation, its illustration, and its written form meant that posters illustrating specific quotations – a focus of this exhibition – served as tools of literacy acquisition, functioning as prompts in the reading of specific quotations. For example, the poster *Quotations from Chairman Mao: What Is a True Bastion of Iron?* (fig. 4) produced by the Red Painting Soldiers of the 'The East Is Red Commune' of the Beijing Film Academy perfectly unifies image, text, and context. Painted as though a woodblock print – and thus drawing on the repertoire of such images produced by Red Guard arts units in Beijing 北京 and elsewhere, and compositionally resembling decorative letterhead – the figural image of the poster rises above the following text:

> *Quotations from Chairman Mao*
>
> What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion, which it is impossible, and impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.
>
> [From] 'Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work'

毛主席语录

真正的铜墙铁壁是什么？是群众，是千百万真心实意地拥护革命的群众。这是真正的铜墙铁壁，什么力量也打不破的，完全打不破的。反革命打不破我们，我们却要打破反革命。《关心群众生活，注意工作方法》

In the most literal of visual terms, the image above the quotation depicts a solid wall of humanity emerging from the red ground of the poster, silhouetted against a yellow 'sky,' the Chinese term translated as 'bastion' literally 'a copper wall and an iron bastion' (铜墙铁壁, *tongqiang tiebi*).

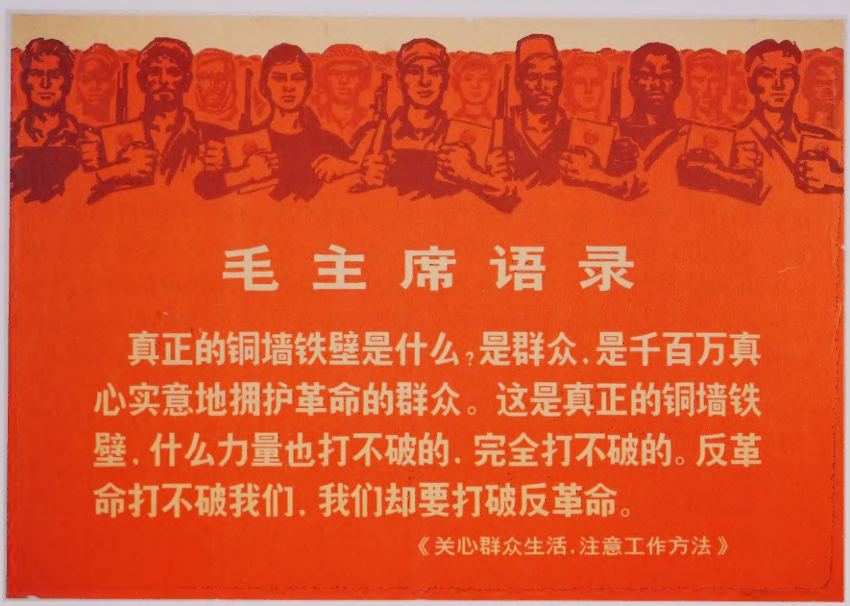


Figure 4. Red Guards Congress of Colleges and Universities in the Capital, painted by the Red Painting Soldiers of the 'The East Is Red Commune' of the Beijing Film Academy (首都大专院校红代会，北京电影学院东方红公社红画兵绘). *What is a true bastion of iron?* [...] (真正的铜墙铁壁是什么？[...]). Beijing: Peoples' Fine Arts Publishing House, December 1967.

The image of the poster sends clear, non-verbal clues to its viewer about the identity of the text that it presents. A viewer who did not know the *Quotations* well, either because they could not read at all or were unable to read fluently, might nonetheless have been able to connect the image of a wall of people with the only passage of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* to use the characters for 'wall,' namely, Mao's maxim about the

masses who are 'the true bastion of iron.' A literate viewer, who knew the text of the *Quotations* well, might have recalled that the passage printed on the poster is the second quotation from Chapter Eight, 'People's War' (人民战争). Moreover, a well-read viewer thoroughly versed in Mao's writings would likely have known that this passage was reprinted from volume one of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (毛澤東選集), which the viewer would have known either because this source is cited in the *Quotations* or because they also knew well the *Selected Works*.

Mao's notion of the unity of politics and art perfectly supported the parallel processes of decoding pictorial iconography and deciphering words printed on posters that reproduced and illustrated long passages of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. This ideology is stated within the *Quotations* in the sixth quotation from Chapter Thirty-Two, 'Culture and Art' (文化艺术):

> [...] What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the 'poster and slogan style' which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.

> [...] 我们的要求则是政治和艺术的统一，内容和形式的统一，革命的政治内容和尽可能完美的艺术形式的统一。缺乏艺术性的艺术品，无论政治上怎样进步，也是没有力量的。因此，我们既反对政治观点错误的艺术品，也反对只有正确的政治观点而没有艺术力量的所谓'标语口号式'的倾向。我们应该进行文艺问题上的两条战线斗争。

In the passage above, Mao critiques the 'poster and slogan style' (标语口号式). This phrase, which can be more literally translated as 'oral slogan [as] word-poster style,' refers principally to banners, or in some cases walls, bearing text. The fanciest of the banners were (and still are) red with white lettering, while others are simply black text on white ground.

By seeking beautiful, progressive images that conjoin correct political ideology and the affective power of art, Mao established the foundation for text to be illustrated and images to be glossed in Chinese revolutionary art. Mao's 'unity of content and form in politics and art' (政治和艺术的统一) thus underpins the development, during the early

phase of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), of posters that combine texts longer than slogans and images of variable complexity. In posters and other works of proletarian art that illustrate the *Quotations*, the unity of form and content realized in each work created dual contexts of viewership: for the literate reader, the illustration of the text made visible its abstract content; for the illiterate or not fully literate viewer, the illustration provided visual clues about the content of the quotation potentially aiding the viewer in deciphering its text. Posters illustrating and presenting long passages from the *Quotations* thus not only reinforced the political messages of the text, but also served as tools by which the text became readable to those at variable levels of literacy. Such posters thus served as a transition from oral to textual cultures of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

The Sense of Mao's Sayings: Reproducing the *Quotations* in Daily Life

With literacy, readers master the written word and establish a foundation from which they themselves can write. In logographic languages such as Chinese, writing requires rote learning not only of the form of each character, but also of the kinesthetic process required to reproduce it legibly. A powerful tool for the study of Chinese characters is their repeated copying. While individual words can be copied from models and memory, entire phrases and extended passages can also be duplicated manually through the same means; where the former might be construed as the study of individual characters, the latter might serve to apply longer texts to specific contexts.

The reproduction of the words of Mao, by individuals and broadly in society, indicated the currency of the quotations and their meanings, placed them in specific situations, and applied them to problems at hand. In fact, Lin Biao's 'Foreword to the Second [Chinese] Edition' of the *Quotations*, part of which is quoted above, encouraged such an approach:

> In studying the works of Chairman Mao, we should have specific problems in mind. Study and apply his works, link study to application, learning first [what can be] quickly used [so that one] immediately sees results, and relentlessly expend effort in their 'application.'
>
> 学习毛主席著作要带着问题学，活学活用，学用结合，急用先学，立竿见影，在'用'字上狠下功夫。

Here, the application of Mao's words to problem-solving is the clear goal of their memorization and reproduction.

Figure 5. Made entirely in-house. (全自力作). *Daily Study, Daily Application* (天天学, 天天用). Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Press, April 1966

Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the longer texts from which the quotations were excerpted, for example *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, provided maxims that could be applied in daily life. *Daily Study, Daily Application* (天天学, 天天用; fig. 5), a poster from the Mark Gayn collection published in April 1966, one month prior to the start of the Cultural Revolution, depicts the mobilization of a single quotation: 'Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.' (下定决心, 不怕牺牲, 排除万难, 去争取胜利). Against the backdrop of a coal-fired plant, pictured at upper left of the poster, a worker copies text from volume three of Mao's *Selected Works* onto a chalkboard dedicated to that purpose.

The poster and the embedded quotation that it illustrates both speak to the hardship of working in a difficult and dangerous environment. The poster harnesses Mao's quotation to encourage its readers to face and not to fear the difficulty and potential for industrial accidents presupposed by the work portrayed, thereby benefitting the nation. At the end of the text, the worker has written an open bracket《, in which to note the source of the text, Mao's 'The Foolish Old Man who Removed the Mountains' (愚公移山), his concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945.

Reprinted in its entirety in volume three of Mao's *Selected Works* first published in 1953, as well as in a stand-alone pamphlet of the same title within the set of 'Three Old Articles' (老三篇), two excerpts from this essay were subsequently anthologized in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*: the one inscribed in this poster, from Chapter Nineteen, 'Revolutionary Heroism' (革命英雄主义), was a popular slogan printed on badges, including several in the Gayn collection; another, from Chapter Twenty-One, 'Self-Reliance and Arduous Struggle' (自力更生, 艰苦奋斗), provided a précis of the tale of the Foolish Old Man to acquaint readers with its plot.

Daily Study, Daily Application shows the active reproduction of Mao's text and its application within the proletarian workplace illustrated in the poster. Mao's quotation rendered in the poster, 'Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory' is not ambiguous in its meaning. But because the wording of the quotation lacks context, it therefore possesses the ability to be applied to many and diverse problems. Ultimately, *Daily Study, Daily Application* reveals the utility of Mao quotations to specific contexts, and also points to diffuse patterns of the reproduction of Mao's words in multiple, variable contexts, a phenomenon underscored by the aphoristic quality of many of Mao's slogans.

Having the Last Word: Mao Quotations, Literacy, and Everyday Speech

Whereas oral and audial cultures may serve as conduits by which illiterate subjects learn the content of texts they cannot yet read, which are presented to them as spoken and not as written words, textual cultures can shape even the speech of those who read. As this essay has suggested, the acquisition of literacy may be accomplished through the use of multiple sense and cognitive processes. Personal, tactile possession of the written word is the first step of a future reader towards a text, a step that might be followed in the acquisition of literacy by audial engagement with and recitation of a text, and deciphering text from contextual illustrations. Once literate, a reader can also reproduce a text in writing. Yet the process may also come full circle when a reader, versed in the content of books read, reproduces that content in their daily life, both indirectly and through direct citation and quotation.

The reproduction of Mao's words was an important means by which their study was transformed into their contextual, problem-solving application, not only in written texts but in oral culture. Beyond the repurposing of Mao quotations in print culture – including anthologization in whole or part in works of different titles, transfer to badges, and illustration on posters and in other mass-produced visual media – Mao's words were also recited in and thus applied to the small events and problems of quotidian life, such as a simple purchase of pork recounted by Michael Schoenhals:

'"Serve the people" (为人民服务). Comrade, could I have two pounds of pork please?'

'"A revolution is not a dinner party" (革命不是请客吃饭). That makes 1.85 *yuan* altogether.'

'"To rebel is justified" (造反有理). Here you are.'

'"Practice frugality while making revolution" (勤俭办革命). There's your change, and there's your meat.'

This exchange, and others like it, demonstrate the extent to which the text of the *Quotations* was so thoroughly learned by heart, internalized, classified by subject, and reproduced from memory in appropriate contexts that it began to dominate speech. Beyond their applications to larger political and social problems, Mao's words, mediated by the circulation and reception of the *Quotations*, structured the sense and meaning of words in everyday usage.

To live in an environment shaped by the *Quotations* was to live in a world in which expression itself was defined by Mao's words. Throughout the PRC during the Cultural Revolution, China's populace experienced Mao's *Quotations* in audial, oral, visual and textual forms. The text of the *Quotations* circulated in audial and visual forms that transcended the ability to read, reaching even those who were illiterate. For those learning to read, the *Quotations* served as a primer, commonly used both for children in grades one to three and for adult literacy. Between 1966 and 1971, mass printing and distribution of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* meant that anyone literate, wholly or in part, necessarily read the *Quotations*; the total number of Chinese-language copies of Mao's *Quotations* exceed the population of China such that more than one copy existed for every member of Chinese society. Moreover, Mao's *Quotations* were also reproduced in other media such as newspapers, printed ephemera, and stenciled wall text. In this milieu the text of the *Quotations* provided the vocabulary for shared communication and established the conceptual possibilities of language itself.

★ ★ ★ ★

Checklist

This catalogue contains detailed entries of fifty select objects on display in the exhibition Reading Revolution: Art and Literacy during China's Cultural Revolution. For a complete checklist of objects exhibited, please see:

http://fisher.library.utoronto.ca/Reading/Revolution/by/case

Objects of Literacy and Art during China's Cultural Revolution

During the Cultural Revolution literacy and art-making flourished, aided by the printing of books and posters in large editions. Throughout China, publishing houses issued more than one billion copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, as noted in the preceding essay. In his 'Foreword to the Second [Chinese] Edition' of the *Quotations*, Lin Biao noted the importance of this phenomenon:

> The large-scale publication of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* is a vital measure for enabling the broad masses to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and for promoting the revolutionization of our people's thinking.
>
> 《毛主席语录》的大量出版，对广大群众掌握毛泽东思想，推动我国人民思想革命化，是一个极为重要的措施。

In the visual arts, an oil painting by Liu Chunhua 刘春华 (b. 1944), *Chairman Mao Goes to Anyuan* (毛主席去安源), was, in the years immediately following its completion in 1967, reproduced in print more than 900 million times. It is thus a candidate for the most frequently reproduced image in the world. Other posters, printed in a variety of styles and media, proliferated in this period.

These two cultures of mass printing, one dedicated to books (especially *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*) and one to visual media, coexisted and overlapped to create visual representations of the *Quotations* as book and as ideology. The visual art mass-produced at the intersection of these phenomena at the height of the Cultural Revolution (1966-69) took many forms. These included, for example, the stenciling of Mao quotations on the sides of buildings, captured in Suzanne Gayn's photograph *Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung wall stencil, Guangzhou* (cat. no. 5c). However, posters illustrating single quotations from Mao's text constituted the highest artistic expression of this phenomenon.

Designed collaboratively by diverse teams that included Red Guards and former commercial artists as members, these posters embodied the cooperative work ethic of the period. The execution of these posters in styles ranging from untutored monochrome woodblock to slick lithographs of gouache paintings reflect the artistic diversity and skill of this period, one best known for its integration of proletarian aesthetics and Maoist ideology. Posters served as one means by which individual Mao quotations were disseminated and popularized. Moreover, the illustrations of such posters made their content accessible to audiences of varying literacy.

Case One

Quotations from Chairman Mao: An Introduction; Chapter One 'The Communist Party'

Before their illustration on posters, Chairman Mao's quotations began as a feature in the *PLA Daily* (解放军报), the newspaper of the People's Liberation Army (解放军; hereafter PLA). In 1961, following his own practice of studying short quotations from Chairman Mao, Lin Biao ordered the *PLA Daily* to publish one quotation from Chairman Mao every day. Finding quotations suitable for quotidian publication revealed a need for comprehensive knowledge of and access to the corpus of Mao's work from which such quotations could be drawn. To facilitate their work, the editors of the *PLA Daily* discovered that another newspaper, the *Tianjin Daily* (天津日报) had compiled a topical catalogue of Mao quotations.

Compiling the *Quotations from Chairman Mao* was a multi-stage process. In December 1963, the *PLA Daily* and the General Political Department of the PLA agreed to produce a book of selected quotations from Mao for PLA use only. Accounts differ on how the book was compiled: some credit the *Tianjin Daily* catalogue, others the *PLA Daily* and its staff. In any case, a first draft of the work appeared in January 1965 under the title *200 Quotations from Chairman Mao* (毛主席语录200条); the quotations were organized into twenty-three topics. Revised and expanded multiple times, in May 1965 the General Political Department of the PLA began publishing the definitive edition of the work comprising 427 quotations in thirty-three topical chapters.

Conceived as a tool for political study by members of the PLA, the Chinese-language version of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* was widely read throughout China, and foreign-language editions circulated around the world. Prior to its translation and export, approved by the Propaganda Department of the CPC in 1966 and undertaken by the Foreign Languages Press in Beijing, the Chinese government had already begun to produce and distribute print materials for foreign audiences. More than cultivate a global language of Maoist revolution, these publications sought to create international awareness of the development of China under the leadership of the CPC. To this end, such publications were heavily illustrated, allowing their readership to understand China firstly through visual images, and only secondarily through text. From the early 1950s, lavishly illustrated periodicals such as *China Pictorial*, the English-language translation of *Renmin huabao* (人民画报, literally 'People's Pictorial') and *China Reconstructs*, the English-language translation of *Zhongguo jianshe* (中国建设, literally 'China Constructs') also published in French, Spanish, German, Portuguese, and Arabic, established the image of China abroad.

Whereas the export of glossy pictorial magazines allowed foreign audiences to focus their attention on images of China rather than on Chinese Communism itself, the export of Mao's *Quotations* a decade and a half later shifted foreign focus towards the ideological. This change in exported printed matter paralleled global political shifts during that fifteen-year period. In the early 1950s, American and Western European nations were fearful of Communism. By the mid-1960s, the experience of social and political upheaval was an international one, ranging from anti-colonial revolutions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, to the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and the U.S. Civil Rights movement in North America. The export of the *Quotations* inserted the CPC into political imaginations and practices around the world.

1a. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* [*Zedong*]. Beijing: China People's Liberation Army General Political Department, [?June 1964]. First edition.
毛泽东(1893-1976).《毛主席语录》.北京:中国人民解放军总政治部,[? 1964年6月],第1版.

1b. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* [*Zedong*]. Beijing: China People's Liberation Army General Political Department, June 1964. First edition, second printing.
毛泽东(1893-1976).《毛主席语录》.北京:中国人民解放军总政治部,1964年6月,第1版,第2次印刷.

1c. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* [*Zedong*]. Beijing: China People's Liberation Army General Political Department, August 1965. First edition, third printing.
毛泽东(1893-1976).《毛主席语录》.北京:中国人民解放军总政治部,1965年8月,第1版,第3次印刷.

1d. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* [*Zedong*]. Beijing: China People's Liberation Army General Political Department, [?1964]. First edition, rare variant.
毛泽东(1893-1976).《毛主席语录》. 北京: 中国人民解放军总政治部, [? 1964年] 第1版.

Perhaps the single most important object in China during the Cultural Revolution, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* was a text for study, memorization, and reflection; it also functioned as an icon of conformity to Maoist ideology. Adhering to CPC policies of language reform, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* used newly simplified Chinese characters to communicate its content. To facilitate wide readership, the complete text was also published in a smaller, vest pocket size, portable throughout daily activities and appropriately sized for school children. To prevent damage to copies of the *Quotations* caused by constant handling, as early as 1964 editions of the text were published with a printed red vinyl wrapper over cardboard covers; some first editions noted here were published with paper covers (cat. nos. 1a, 1d) while others had red vinyl covers (cat. nos. 1b, 1c). Literate or not, Chinese citizens owned and carried copies of the *Quotations* during the Cultural Revolution, ideally studying and/or reading its content.

2. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966.
毛泽东(1893-1976).《毛主席语录》(英文版). 北京: 外文出版社, 1966年.

The *Quotations* articulates the need for China to reach out politically to those beyond her borders. Chapter Eighteen, 'Patriotism and Internationalism' (爱国主义和国际主义), addresses such themes. Within that chapter, one quotation states:

> In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.
>
> 被压迫人民争取彻底的解放，首先是依靠自己的斗争，其次才是国际的援助。已经获得革命胜利的人民，应该援助正在争取解放的人民的斗争，这是我们的国际主义的义务。

Excerpted from an address made by Mao to African friends and published in the *People's Daily* newspaper to a nationwide audience, this passage indicates that the success of the Chinese revolution should be mobilized to assist other revolutionary causes.

Chapter Eighteen of the *Quotations* names foreign targets of and audiences for its internationalist campaign. It specifically names Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and other capitalist countries. This mandate to internationalism underpinned the translation of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung* into the languages of industrialized nations, Japanese (1966), English (1966), German (1967), and Italian (1967) among the first to be translated. Issued in more than thirty languages, on behalf of the Foreign Languages Press, the International Book Store exported copies for sale to over one hundred countries. In addition to the editions in languages listed above, others included: French, Spanish, Russian, Mongolian (1966); Vietnamese, Portuguese, Arabic, Hindi, Albanian, Indonesian, Urdu, Nepali, Hausa, Norwegian, Pashto, Thai, Burmese, Swahili, Persian, Esperanto, Korean, and Tamil (1967); Lao, Bengali, Turkish, Romanian, Hungarian, Polish, and Serbian (1968); as well as Greek and Russian (1969), and Ukrainian (1970).

3a. Badge in the shape of *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, Chinese-language edition. Ca. 1964-1971.
《毛主席语录》纪念章. 约1964-1971年.

3b. Badge in the shape of *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, English edition. Ca. 1966-1971.
《毛主席语录》(英文版) 纪念章. 约1966-1971年.

Virtually identical to the covers of Chinese- and English-language editions of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, fidelity of the badges to the cover designs for the texts underscores the iconic function of these books, even when their content cannot be accessed. Like the common, gold-lettered red vinyl covers of the *Quotations*, both badges are printed in gold on red plastic. The Anglophone badge is a perfect copy of the cover of the first English-language edition of Mao's *Quotations*. The Chinese-language badge deviates, however, from standard edition covers in two ways: first, it uses the traditional character for the word 'speech' (語 *yu*) instead of its simplified form (语); second, the gold star beneath the title is filled-in, not rendered in outline. In visual media of the period, the cover of the *Quotations* represented the physical presence of the book, ideological conformity to its content, and the aura of Chairman Mao himself. This sensibility is articulated in a popular slogan of the period: 'Long live [Chairman Mao never] stops leaving their mouth, [Mao's] *Quotations* never leaves their hands!' (万岁不离口, 语录不离手!).

4. Liu Hulan Commune of the Beijing Film Academy and Jinggangshan Commune of the Prairie Fire Rebel Corps. *Mao Zedong: 'The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.'* Beijing: People's Fine Arts Publishing House, March 1967.
北京电影学院刘胡兰公社, 燎原造反兵团井崗山公社. 《毛泽东: 领导我们事业的核心力量是中国共产党. 指导我们思想的理论基础是马克思列宁主义.》北京: 人民美術出版社, 1967年3月.

Rendering Mao rising above a foundation of the opening quotation from *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, this poster marries his portrait to equally iconic text: the first quotation from Chapter One of the *Quotations*, 'The Communist Party' (共产党). It states: 'The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.' (领导我们事业的核心力量是中国共产党. 指导我们思想的理论基础是马克思列宁主义). At a time when even China's illiterate owned and embraced the *Quotations*, these words were among the most familiar of the text. This is because they are the words first encountered by a reader of Mao's *Quotations*, and the first quotation sung in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Set To Music* (see 'Reading Revolution,' p. 18).

Like other text-based posters made early in Cultural Revolution, this poster refers its reader to *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, and to the larger corpus of Mao's writings. A viewer of this poster who knew by heart the *Quotations*, for whom the poster thus served as a mnemonic device, would have known that the source of the text was Mao's 'Opening Address at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China' (中华人民共和国第一届全国人民代表大会第一次会议开幕词) of 15 September 1954, reported in the *People's Daily* the following day. Unlike many propaganda posters, which were commissioned by the Central Committee of the CPC from a single work unit responsible for designing, receiving approval for, and printing such posters, collaboration of a work unit tasked with producing revolutionary moving images (the Liu Hulan Commune of the Beijing Film Academy) and another work unit perhaps more directly responsible for ideological content (the Jinggangshan Commune of the Prairie Fire Rebel Corps), produced this poster. A third work unit, a publishing house, provided the technical expertise to realize the image as mass-produced print. Contextualizing the image of Mao with respect to his *Quotations*, this poster also reveals how the CPC mobilized labour – artistic, ideological, and technical – in its making.

5a. Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). *In front of Guangzhou Station*. 1967
苏珊·盖恩(1921年出生).《在广州火车站广场》. 1967年.

5b. Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). *On the train to Guangzhou*. 1967.
苏珊·盖恩(1921年出生).《在广州的火车车箱内列车员读毛主席语录》. 1967年.

5c. Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). *Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung wall stencil, Guangzhou*. 1967.
苏珊·盖恩(1921年出生).《广州街头墙上的毛主席语录》. 1967年.

A series of just over one hundred photographs taken by Suzanne Gayn on a trip she made with her husband, Mark Gayn, to Guangzhou 广州 in January 1967 reveals both the prominence of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in everyday life and the importance of reading to contemporary political culture. These photographs, including ones published in the *Ottawa Citizen* on 8 February 1967, capture many aspects of daily life in Guangzhou. Some show a heightened level of political engagement, for example, eager youths waving the *Quotations*, and curious citizens reading billboards and posters detailing developments in CPC policy and administration. Others provide glimpses of streets and street life, more often than not with Mao quotations – as banners, stenciled onto walls, or pasted onto walls as posters – in the background.

Three of the images show how Mao's *Quotations* functioned as object, text, and image. *In front of Guangzhou Station* pictures Red Guards thronging Suzanne Gayn. Below a banner that says 'Sweep away the obstacle of the bourgeois royalists' (打到资本阶级保皇派), a phrase linked to an editorial from the *People's Daily* of 18 June 1966, and hung above a station sign saying 'Baggage check' (包裹託運處), Gayn's photo portrays the seemingly spontaneous practice of waving the *Quotations* aloft. *On the train to Guangzhou* ('Reading Revolution,' fig. 4) depicts four people in a train car reading aloud from the *Quotations*, thus illustrating the importance of the written text and its audial culture. Finally, *Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung wall stencil* depicts Red Guards in an alley in which Mao quotations were stenciled on building façades, silently but visually present as backdrop to everyday life. These photographs render the inescapable presence of Mao quotations during the Cultural Revolution outside the carefully crafted propaganda of the period.

6. *The May 7 Collection of Terms and Expressions, Chinese-English*. Edited by the Revolutionary Committee of the Central China Normal College and the Revolutionary Committee of the Foreign Languages Department [Central China Normal College]. Wuhan, 1968.
《五·七 汉英詞語汇編》. 华中师范学院革命委员会, 外語系革命委员会編. 武汉, 1968年.

Named for the 'Instructions of 7 May [1966]' (五·七指示), a letter sent by Mao to Lin Biao on the eve of the Cultural Revolution outlining how the army and the people could learn from each other, this book is an English-language primer and glossary designed to enable PLA Officers and Red Guards better to communicate with foreign visitors to China, including journalists. Opening with a colour reproduction of Liu Chunhua's painting *Chairman Mao Goes to Anyuan* and a black-and-white photo of Mao and Lin Biao, this book reprints its eponymous letter and anthologizes other texts of the period. Its chapters, typeset so that Chinese and English texts can be read together on facing pages, contain (in order): Mao's poetry, 'Chairman Mao's Eight Important Articles' (毛主席八篇重要文件), the 'Supreme Instructions' (最高指示), '*Chengyu* and Literary Allusions from the Works of Chairman Mao' (毛主席著作中成语典故), 'Quotations from Vice-Chairman Lin [Biao]' (林副主席语录), and 'Collection of Terms and Expressions in Current Use' (常用词语汇编). An Appendix (附表) contains 'Frequently Used Revolutionary Slogans' (常用革命口号), 'Names of Party, Government, and Military Institutions and Revolutionary Organizations' (党政军机构和革命组织名称), military and physical education terms, and 'Revolutionary Songs' (革命歌曲). An index organized by the stroke count and radicals of Chinese characters completes the text.

Purporting to transmit the wisdom of the teachers and students (师生智慧) who compiled it, these editors made critical decisions about sourcing the content of the book, decisions that reveal their mastery of Mao's Sinophone works and their Anglophone translations. At a time when the *Quotations* circulated widely, the editors make clear that they obtained texts equivalent to those in the *Quotations* from the four volumes of the *Selected Works*, not from the *Quotations* or *Selected Readings* [*from the Works of Mao Tse-tung*] ([毛泽东著作] 选读); this required greater, not lesser effort. The editors, however, reprinted standard Chinese editions of Mao's poetry and their English translations in their entirety. Moreover, in adding to the literature of the period, the editors compiled *Quotations from Vice Chairman Lin* and other chapters of the text from available materials. *The May 7 Collection of Terms and Expressions* thus reveals the dynamism of book and textual cultures during the Cultural Revolution that extended even to students in a teacher training college.

Case Two

***Quotations from Chairman Mao*:**
Chapter Six, 'Imperialism and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers'

Organized topically and conceptually, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* offers its reader a series of maxims on fundamental topics of importance to Chinese communism. The first three chapters iterate basic tenets of Chinese communism. Chapter One describes the Communist Party, Chapter Two, 'Classes and Class Struggle' (阶级和阶级斗争) articulates aspects of this foundational Marxist principle, and Chapter Three, 'Socialism and Communism' (社会主义和共产主义), defines and describes the relation of two key terms. Chapter Four, 'The Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People' (正确处理人民内部矛盾), lays the groundwork for addressing notions of conflict in Chapters Five to Nine, beginning with Chapter Five, 'War and Peace' (战争与和平).

Opening with an aphoristic précis of its larger themes, Chapter Six, 'Imperialism and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers' (帝国主义和一切反动派都是纸老虎) attends to issues of foreign imperialism. Its opening quotation states:

> All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality, they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are powerful.
>
> 一切反动派都是纸老虎。看起来，反动派的样子是可怕的，但是实际上并没有什么了不起的力量。从长远的观点看问题，真正强大的力量不是属于反动派，而是属于人民。

Longer, more complicated passages from Mao's writings quoted in this chapter speak specifically to conditions in China, Germany, Russia, Japan, the United States, Taiwan, Lebanon and other Arab countries. More generally, the chapter engages overarching issues of Western imperialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

7. Selections from the exhibition 'Long Live the Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line.' *All reactionaries are paper tigers* [...]. Shanghai: Shanghai Revolutionary Education Publishing House, March 1968.
选自'毛主席革命路线胜利万岁展览会.'《一切反动派都是纸老虎. [...]》. 上海: 上海革命教育出版社, 1968年3月第1次印刷.

Drawn in a comic-book style that flourished under the Red Guards in 1966-67, *All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers* [...] illustrates Chairman Mao's quotations on that subject. The text printed in the poster is that of the opening quotation of Chapter Six, cited above. The image of the poster, however, appears to illustrate the sixth quotation from that chapter:

> Imperialism will not last long because it always does evil things. [...F]orced by imperialism to do so, more than ninety per cent of the people of the world are rising or will rise in struggle against it. Yet, imperialism is still alive, still running amuck in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
>
> 帝国主义者的寿命不会很长了，因为他们尽做坏事。[...] 他们就迫使全世界百分之九十以上的人正在或者将要对他们群起而攻之。但是帝国主义者目前还是在活着，他们依然在向亚洲、非洲、拉丁美洲横行霸道。

An avid reader of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, who knew the text by heart, would have known – and likely been able to recall – the three other passages of the *Quotations* that addressed the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Representing artwork shown in a large-scale exhibition, 'Long Live the Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line' (毛主席革命路线胜利万岁展览会) that opened in the National Art Museum of China (中国美术馆), Beijing, on National Day (1 October)

1967 to commemorate the eighteenth anniversary of the founding of the PRC, the work on which this poster is based had a wide audience. Sufficiently noteworthy to merit its own commemorative badges, this exhibition was reviewed in the *People's Daily*, further signaling its significance. Published on 28 November 1967, the review stated the unprecedented scale of 'Long Live the Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line.' The exhibition showed more than sixteen hundred works in media that included: Chinese style painting (国画), oil painting, prints, posters, sculpture, and decorative arts. In addition to works displayed in the Museum, travelling exhibitions allowed material shown in Beijing to be exhibited again in factories and in the countryside.

The *People's Daily* review articulated the criteria by which works selected for the exhibition – including that reproduced in *All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers* – were judged. The review notes:

> The number one criterion of this art exhibition is its revolutionization [of art]. All works in this art exhibition are concentrated expressions of this great theme. From large-scale clay sculpture to compact commemorative badges, from giant oil paintings to fine papercuts, each and every work propagates invincible Mao Zedong Thought and sings of Chairman Mao who is the reddest, reddest red sun in our hearts.
>
> 美展的第一个特点，是它的革命化。美展的所有作品，集中地表现了这一伟大主题。从大型泥塑到小巧的纪念章，从巨幅油画到精细的剪纸，每一件作品，都是为了宣传战无不胜的毛泽东思想，歌颂我们心中最红最红的红太阳毛主席。

Integrating revolutionary aesthetics and content, including the words of Mao, this poster visually summarized Mao's anti-imperialist notions anthologized in Chapter Six of the *Quotations*.

8. Horizontal badge with text: 'Quotations from Chairman Mao: U.S. imperialism and reactionaries of all nations are paper tigers.' Ca. 1965-1968.
毛主席语录纪念章: '毛主席语录: 美帝国主义和各国反动派都是纸老虎.'
约1965-1968年.

Presenting what appears to be an iconic text from the *Quotations*, this badge instead remixes Mao's words from Chapter Six of the *Quotations* to create a text not authored by

Mao. It states: 'U.S. Imperialism and Reactionaries of All Nations are Paper Tigers.' (美帝国主义和各国反动派都是纸老虎). Specifically, the text combines elements of the chapter title, 'Imperialism and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers' with the phrase 'U.S. imperialism' (美帝国主义) found in its third, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth quotations. The pin text thus encapsulates, if not recalls much of the chapter, evoking other quotations that consider U.S. imperialism with respect to its possession of the atom bomb, occupations of Taiwan and Lebanon, and monopoly capitalism. In a culture in which Mao's words were learned and reproduced by rote, it appears nonetheless that productive misprision might serve a useful function, Mao's meaning summarized by his misquoted words.

压得好（参观一万二千吨水压机有感）　　张乐平作

9. Zhang Leping (1910-1992). *Well Pressed: Some Thoughts on Visiting the 12,000 Ton Hydraulic Press.* 1965. [From *Vietnam Must Win, the U.S. Must Lose*, collection 2. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Press, February 1966.]
张乐平 (1910-1992). 《压得好: 参观一万二千吨水压机有感》, 1965年. [自《越南必胜、美国必败, 2》. 上海: 上海人民美術出版社, 1966年2月, 第1次印刷.]

The seriousness of supporting revolutionaries around the world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism notwithstanding, this topic also afforded possibilities for humour. In *Well Pressed*, Zhang Leping 张乐平 (1910-1992), the foremost cartoonist of twentieth-century China, used his many years of experience making comics to create an entertaining and comprehensible image of the United States caught between the competing interests of North and South Vietnam. Following the text-free style in which he drew Sanmao 三毛 (lit. 'Three Hairs'), a character he developed during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) to illustrate the plight of children and orphans in that conflict, the cartoon depicts a recent engineering marvel, a

12,000-ton hydraulic press manufactured in Shanghai in 1961. Building on knowledge of this machine and its function, propagated to children via toy replicas and puzzle cubes and to adults in print media, Zhang labeled its upper portion 'The South Vietnamese Army' (越南南方军民) and the lower portion 'The North Vietnamese Army' (越南北方军民). Zhang pictures the hydraulic press literally squeezing the tiny figure of President Johnson (约翰逊) who, clad in the green uniform of the U.S. Army, has the same spindly limbs as Sanmao, thus stylistically linking these different characters within his oeuvre.

10. Chen Changyuan (1938-1992). *The Chinese People Firmly Support the Struggle of the Vietnamese People to Save their Nation from U.S. Aggression*. From *Vietnam Must Win, the U.S. Must Lose*, [collection] 4. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Press, February 1966.
陈昌源 (1938-1992). 《中国人民坚决支援越南人民抗美救国斗争》. 自《越南必胜、美国必败, 4》. 上海: 上海人民美術出版社, 1966年2月, 第1次印刷.

The Chinese People Firmly Support the Struggle of the Vietnamese People to Save their Nation from U.S. Aggression by Chen Changyuan 陈昌源 (1938-1992) is one image from a set of eight included in the fourth collection in a series of unknown extent depicting Vietnam's war against the United States and the response of China to it. Largely colourful, the images reproduce artworks in a variety of traditional media: ink painting, monochrome wood-

block printing, and multicolour woodblock printing. Images originally painted in gouache achieve the look of Western oil painting. Of the eight works, individual artists produced three. Artist collaborations and artists' collectives produced the remainder.

Within this set, images echo the content of published photographs of the period thus functioning as artistically-accomplished propaganda. For example, in *The Chinese People Firmly Support the Struggle of the Vietnamese People to Save their Nation from U.S. Aggression* (中国人民坚决支援越南人民抗美救国斗争), Chen, a native of Gaochun county 高淳县, Nanjing, active in Anhui, presents a mass anti-US involvement in Vietnam rally in the form of a multicoloured woodblock print. By using colour to distinguish its front line of combatants, Han Chinese and members of various minority groups, it shows the solidarity of people of all PRC ethnicities with the Vietnamese. Chen makes artful use of unprinted white paper to highlight various details of the images, notably capturing the glinting of the bayonets on rifles of the assembled fighters. Just as Chen's *The Chinese People Firmly Support the Struggle of the Vietnamese People* [...] resonates with Mark Gayn's photograph *A hundred thousand people assemble in the Peking Stadium to protest 'U.S. Aggression Against the Freedom Loving Dominican People'* of 1965 (cat. no. 12a), the images from collection four of *Vietnam Must Win, the U.S. Must Lose* show the aesthetic and affective value added when propagandistic images are translated into artworks.

11a. *The Chinese and Vietnamese People Shoulder-to-Shoulder: Selected Songs in Support of Vietnam Against the United States*. Guiyang: Guizhou People's Press, May 1965. First edition, second printing.
《中越人民肩并肩: 援越抗美歌曲选》. 贵阳市: 贵州人民 出版社, 1965 年5月, 第1 版, 第2次印刷.

11b. *Selected Songs in Support of Vietnam Against the United States*. Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Press, May 1965. First edition.
《援越抗美歌曲选》. 广州: 广东人民 出版社, 1965年5月, 第1次印刷.

11c. *The Chinese and Vietnamese People Fight Together*. Shanghai: Shanghai Culture Press, May 1966. First edition, second printing.
《中越人民共同战斗—歌曲专辑》. 上海: 上海文化出版社, 1965年5月, 第1版, 1966 年5月, 第2次印刷.

Three small songbooks – one of which, *The Chinese and Vietnamese People Fight Together*, was purchased in the PRC on 16 May 1966 – indicate the importance of China's involvement in the Vietnam War on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. The anthologized songs, including titles shared among the three books such as 'The Chinese and Vietnamese People

Shoulder-to-Shoulder' (中越人民肩并肩), 'Oppose US Imperialist Encroachment on Vietnam' (反对美帝侵犯越南), and 'Liberate the South' (解放南方), show the consistency of Chinese Vietnam War propaganda, a consistency reinforced by the similarly uniform visual message of the songbooks. Although published in different cities, the covers of *The Chinese and Vietnamese People Shoulder-to-Shoulder* and *The Chinese and Vietnamese People Fight Together* reproduce the same propaganda painting, the title of which is unknown; the same painting is also replicated on a billboard in a Beijing park in Mark Gayn's photograph, *Girls dance in a park before a poster pledging Chinese help to the Vietnamese in their struggle against 'U.S. Imperialism.'* (cat. no. 12d). The cover of *Selected Songs in Support of Vietnam Against the United States* contains woodblock printed propaganda images and Vietnam War cartoons, like those drawn by Zhang Leping (cat. no. 9) and captured in Mark Gayn's 1965 photograph, *An anti-American demonstration in Peking* (cat. no. 12c).

12a. Mark Gayn (1902-1981). ***A hundred thousand people assemble in the Peking Stadium to protest 'U.S. Aggression Against the Freedom Loving Dominican People.'*** **1965.**
马克·盖恩(1902-1981).《北京工人体育场十万人集会抗议 '美帝侵略多米尼加共和国'》. 1965年.

12b. Mark Gayn (1902-1981). *Anti-American propaganda posters on display in a street in west China. These are now an integral part of the Chinese landscape.* 1965.
马克·盖恩(1902-1981).《中国西部的一个城市、街上抗美宣传画廊》. 1965年.

12c. Mark Gayn (1902-1981). *An anti-American demonstration in Peking.* 1965.
马克·盖恩(1902-1981).《北京街头的 '援越抗美' 示威游行》. 1965年.

12d. Mark Gayn (1902-1981). *Girls dance in a park before a poster pledging Chinese help to the Vietnamese in their struggle against 'U.S. Imperialism.'* 1965.
马克·盖恩(1902-1981).《北京公园内女童在'中国人民援越抗美'宣传画前跳舞》. 1965年.

12e. Mark Gayn (1902-1981). *No holiday passes without political playlets in the city parks*, 3 photographs. 1965.
马克·盖恩(1902-1981).《北京公园节日上演的 '援越抗美' 活报剧》, 三张照片. 1965年.

12f. Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). *Playlet showing the Vietnamese chasing U.S. imperialists out of their country.* 1967.
苏珊·盖恩(1921年出生).《北京?(广州?)公园节日上演的 '越南民兵抓获美军' 活报剧》. 1967年

12g. Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). *Dancing in uniform.* 1967.
苏珊·盖恩(1921年出生).《舞蹈中的穿制服的女青年》. 1967年.

During trips to China in 1965 and 1967, Mark and Suzanne Gayn had privileged access to political demonstrations and rallies, including those on a mass scale, which they photographed. At Beijing's Worker's Stadium (工人体育场), Mark Gayn witnessed a rally against U.S. imperialism, its cause named on the central banner in the picture: 'U.S. imperialism out of the Dominican [Republic]! U.S. imperialism out of Latin America! U.S. imperialism out of Vietnam!' (美帝国主义从多米尼加滚出去! 从拉丁美洲滚出去!从越南滚出去!). It is this rally that is represented in Mark Gayn's photograph *A hundred thousand people assemble in the Peking Stadium to protest 'U.S. Aggression Against the Freedom Loving Dominican People'* (cat. no. 12a). As with rallies staged throughout China, this one addressed U.S. imperialism broadly, as described by Mao in his writings.

In Beijing and Guangzhou, Mark and Suzanne Gayn attended smaller scale demonstrations opposing U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. *Girls dance in a park before a poster pledging Chinese help to the Vietnamese in their struggle against 'U.S. Imperialism'* (cat. no. 12d) and *An anti-American demonstration in Peking* (cat. no. 12c) reveal choreographed, yet humble, performances defined by politics not production values. Some of the demonstrations viewed by the Gayns including so-called 'living newspaper' (活报剧) performances that transformed news reports and current events into tableaux vivants. Examples of these are Mark Gayn's three photograph series, *No holiday passes without political playlets in the city parks* (cat. no. 12e), which documents the casting of alien residents of Beijing as foreign imperialists in such plays, and Suzanne Gayn's *Playlet showing the Vietnamese chasing U.S. imperialists out of their country* (cat. no. 12f), which captures a sublime moment of ideological and theatrical perfection in which choreography, matching uniforms and foliage-adorned hats create an illusion of the Chinese and Viet Cong forces capturing a downed pilot, their American enemy, based on a recent news report. Other photographs show lively dances featuring women in army uniforms (cat. no. 12g) as well as a range of anti-imperialist propaganda materials (cat. no. 12b).

Case Three

Quotations from Chairman Mao: Chapter Eight, 'People's War;' Chapter Nine, 'People's Army'

Of the five chapters of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* that address military action Chapter Eight, 'People's War,' makes clear that the Chinese people will emerge victorious from whatever conflict in which they find themselves by virtue of their sheer numbers. The opening quotation of 'People's War' states this succinctly: 'The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; only mobilizing the masses and relying on them can wage it.' (革命战争是群众的战争, 只有动员群众才能进行战争, 只有依靠群众才能进行战争.) The second quotation amplifies this sentiment, literally enumerating the masses – describing them as 'millions upon millions' (千百万) of people. The third quotation reiterates the importance of demography to war, namely, 'The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people.' (战争的伟力之最深厚的根源, 存在于民众之中.)

Subsequently, Chapter Nine, 'The People's Army' (人民军队), articulates the importance of an army to the people. The opening quotation of this chapter explains, 'Without a People's army, the people have nothing.' (没有一个人民的军队, 便没有人民的一切). The following quotation reveals the purpose of a people's army, notably that the army fights:

> [...N]ot for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation.
>
> [...]不是为着少数人的或狭隘集团的私利，而是为着广大人民群众的利益，为着全民族的利益，而结合，而战斗的。

Together, these two chapters of the *Quotations* establish the symbiotic relationship between the masses and the army. The demography of the masses bolsters the fighting force to make war and victory possible; the army, its numbers supported by the masses, in turn advances the political interests of the masses.

13. The [In-]House Poster Group. *Long Live the Victory of the People's War*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House, November 1966.
本社宣傳画组.《人民战争胜利万岁》. 上海: 上海人民美術出版社, 1966年11月.

Long Live the Victory of the People's War, published by the Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House in November 1966 when the Cultural Revolution was well under way, pictures 'the people' through a series of diverse figures. Although predominantly male and Han Chinese, the foreground group also includes male figures in Kampa, Tibetan, Uighur, Mongolian, and Vietnamese dress, as well as a female figure in Mongolian dress. Behind this group – all armed with guns, and none carrying the works of Mao – red flags representing Mao Zedong Thought flutter. At the upper left of the poster, the People's Army is clearly visible. At the upper right of the poster, further reinforcements are depicted, against the backdrop of soft, pastel-coloured mountains.

The style in which the image was painted – soft, pretty, lush, and commercial – sits in contrast to the revolutionary content of the poster. The text, the fourth quotation in Chapter Eight, states:

> The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously. Not only must we have a powerful regular army; we must also organize contingents of the people's militia on a big scale. This will make it difficult for the imperialists to move a single inch in our country in case of invasion.

帝国主义者如此欺负我们，这是需要认真对付的。我们不但要有强大的

正规军，我们还要大办民兵师。这样，在帝国主义侵略我国的时候，就会使他们寸步难行。

The literalism of Shanghai commercial illustration styles, a legacy of local mastery of Western painting techniques beginning in the late nineteenth century and the subsequent role of Shanghai as the commercial art capital of China before 1949, did not suit Maoist texts better expressed by the use of more abstract styles. However, this inoffensive figurative style captures the meaning of the text by illustrating people's soldiers as far as the eye can see: in the foreground, but also in the background, left and right, of the poster.

14. Girl Gunner Doll, wind-up toy. Ca. 1967.
女民兵，动态玩具. 约1967年.

Girl Gunner Doll embodies a guerilla fighter, an important type of participant in a People's War noted in Chapter Eight of the *Quotations*. The fifth quotation from this chapter explains the role of the guerilla:

Considering the revolutionary war as a whole, the operations of the people's guerrillas and those of the main forces of the Red Army complement each other like a man's right arm and left arm, and if we had only the main forces of the Red Army without the people's guerrillas, we would be like a warrior with only one arm. [...]

人民的游击战争，从整个革命战争的观点看来，和主力红军是互为左右手，只有主力红军而无人民的游击战争，就象一个独臂将军。[...]

Here Mao, who in 1937 published a manual 'On Guerilla Warfare' (論游擊戰), makes clear that guerilla fighters from outside the ranks of the Chinese army are an integral part of China's fighting forces. While men could serve as guerillas, both in China and in China's involvement in the Vietnam War, women often served in this capacity while males in their

families served in the regular army. In his short poem of February 1961, 'Militia Women: Inscription on a Photograph – a chueh chu [sic: *jueju*]' (為女民兵題照、七絕), Mao immortalized such women:

> How bright and brave they look, shouldering five-foot rifles
> On the parade ground lit up by the first gleams of day.
> China's daughters have high-aspiring minds,
> They love their battle array, not silks and satins.
>
> 颯爽英姿五尺槍，曙光初照演兵場。
> 中華兒女多奇志，不愛紅裝愛武裝。

In this poem Mao not only celebrates but also naturalizes the female soldier in Chinese society of the 1960s.

For young girls, Girl Gunner Doll illustrates in three dimensions the world of the militia woman or guerilla. The base of the toy and the pyramidal form on which the gun rests represent landscape – woods, rocks, and water; the Girl Gunner and her automatic machine gun are thus integrated into and camouflaged by terrain. To heighten her element of surprise, and thus her efficacy, the Girl Gunner does not wear the uniform of the PLA but instead wears traditional Chinese female peasant clothing. The Girl Gunner's commitment to service and to Maoist ideology is symbolized by the fabric pattern of her blouse. Its interlocking blue circles appear old-fashioned, but the complementary pattern of three white rectangles with smaller red rectangles within them is purely Maoist: these red and white rectangles represent the covers of the 'Three Old Articles,' a set of three early political essays written by Mao that promoted selflessness and sacrifice, introduced above ('Reading Revolution,' p. 25) and discussed below (cat. nos. 19-21).

Girl Gunner exemplifies practical and ideological ideals of the selfless guerilla fighter in a People's War. This toy recalls the 'Song of the Guerilla' (游击队歌) of 1937, as performed by female artists with guns in the 1965 filmed version of the musical 'The East is Red' (东方红), discussed below (cat. no. 17). In the filmed musical, female guerillas dance to the lyrics 'Crack marksman are we,/ Whose every bullet downs an enemy.' (我们都是神枪手,/ 每一颗子弹消滅一個敌人). Matched to beauty, violence is thus feminized in a range of texts, images, and objects of the period.

15. ***Warrior of Steel Armed with Chairman Mao Thought – Mai Xiande.*** **Beijing: People's Liberation Army Pictorial Press, February 1966.**
《毛主席思想武装的钢铁战士 —麦贤得》. 北京: 解放军画报社, 1966 年2月.

Printed single-sided on loose, large format pages suited to posting for public reading, *Warrior of Steel* tells of the heroism of Mai Xiande麦贤得 (b. 1945), a young naval recruit, in a battle against Chinese Nationalist (國民黨 *Guomindang*, hereafter KMT) forces on 6 August 1965 near Dongshan Island 东山岛, Fujian. Grouped in pairs, eight captioned images painted in gouache in the Socialist Realist style narrate Mai's exploits. The first image establishes the time and date of the event, picturing Mai Xiande and his crew setting out to attack two American-made KMT warships that had entered local fishing grounds; the second shows Mai at the control panel of his ship, awaiting his commander's order, '[...H]is only thought resolutely to exterminate the enemy by putting the teachings of Chairman Mao into practice' ([...] 他心里只有一个念头: 坚决消灭敌人! 用实际行动实践毛主席的教导). The third and fourth images detail how, during battle, Mai received a severe wound to his head; bandaged by a superior, Mai continued to perform his duties, unafraid of sacrificing his life for the people. Images five and six depict Mai inspecting the engine room of his vessel, checking an oil valve, and tightening a screw that facilitated

steering his ship. Image seven pictures Mai persevering through three hours of battle, despite his injury, armed only with Mao Zedong Thought, while the final image depicts the sinking of the enemy battleships, the Zhangjiang 章江号 and the Jianmen 劍門号 by Mai and his fellow soldiers.

To reinforce its political message and to make that message tangible, *Warrior of Steel* showcases *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and illustrates Mai's post-battle recovery with photographs. Page two of *Warrior of Steel*, entitled 'The Political Department Appeals to All Soldiers to Learn from the Warrior of Steel Mai Xiande' (总政治部号召全军向钢铁战士麦贤得学习), recombines phrases from Mao's *Quotations* and from Lin Biao's 'Foreword' to its second Chinese-language edition to make this point. Page twelve, below a title 'With a Deep Class Consciousness, Study and Apply the Works of Chairman Mao, Placing Extreme Effort on the Term "Apply" ' (带着深厚的阶级感情活学活用毛主席著作, 在'用'字上狠下功夫), a phrase perhaps adapted by the Grand General and military strategist Zhang Yunyi 张云逸 (1892-1974) in his address to the Three Caucuses of the Yantai Prefectural Assembly of the CPC of 25 May 1966, features both a painted image of Mai reading Mao's *Quotations* and a photograph of him doing the same thing, equating romanticized images of Mai with the man himself. Mao's words, prominently featured in *Warrior of Steel*, complement Mai's own text on studying Mao's works and his awkward calligraphy stating 'Long live Chairman Mao' (毛主席万岁).

16

Case Four

'The East is Red'

A clever play on words, 'The East is Red' – China's *de facto* national anthem during the Cultural Revolution – spoke simultaneously to the redness of China as a Communist state and to the rosy glow sustained by conceptualizing Chairman Mao as the red sun in the sky. Perhaps the most meaningful symbol of Mao at that time, the sun was interchangeable with Mao the person. Moreover, its radiance served as an illustration of the illuminating power of Mao Zedong Thought. Calendrical reform begun by the Nationalists and fully realized by the Communists, which replaced the lunisolar with the solar calendar, underscored Mao's place as a cosmic force in dynastic and political change.

Despite its popular identification with Chairman Mao, the sun (太阳 *taiyang*) is mentioned only once in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Chapter Thirty, 'Youth' (青年), contains a quotation that notes, 'You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning.' (你们青年人朝气蓬勃，就好像早上八九点钟的太阳). This statement aligns youth with Mao, suggesting their potential to succeed him. Despite the dearth of solar imagery in the *Quotations*, the prevalence of 'The East Is Red' during the Cultural Revolution indicates that even as Mao's own words shaped Chinese society at that time, they did so alongside complementary statements of his ideology.

16. *The Sunshine of Mao Zedong Thought Illuminates the Path of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House, July 1967. First edition, fifth printing.
《毛泽东思想的阳光照亮无产阶级文化大革命的道路》. 上海:上海人民美術出版社, 1967年7月第5次印.

Bearing the text 'The sunshine of Mao Zedong Thought illuminates the path of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' (毛泽东思想的阳光照亮无产阶级文化大革命的道路), this poster portrays Mao and his ideology. A portrait of Mao rises in the sky, the sun a halo behind him. Red banners symbolize Mao Zedong Thought, *pace* the slogan 'Raise high the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought' (高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗). Ethnically diverse figures, representing many of the PRC's fifty-five officially recognized minorities, carry copies of volume four of Mao's *Selected Works*; the last volume published at that time, it signifies the complete title and thus indicates its owner's thorough knowledge of Mao's works.

The lyrics of the song 'The East is Red' provide the context for Mao as the sun. An early vehicle for popularizing Mao, the lyrics state:

Red in the East rises the sun.
China has brought forth a Mao Tsetung.
He works for the people's welfare,
Hurrah, he is the people's saviour!

Chairman Mao loves the people,
He is our guide
He leads us forward,
Hurrah, to build a new China!

The Communist Party is like the sun,
Wherever it shines, there is light.
Wherever the Communist Party goes,
Hurrah, the people are liberated!

东方红，太阳升，
中国出了个毛泽东。
他为人民谋幸福，
呼尔嗨哟，他是人民大救星！

毛主席，爱人民，
他是我们的带路人，
为了建设新中国，
呼尔嗨哟，领导我们向前进！

共产党，像太阳，
照到哪里哪里亮。
哪里有了共产党，
呼尔嗨哟，哪里人民得解放！

Sung to the melody of a provincial folk song, these lyrics spread widely throughout China during the 1940s.

'The East is Red' reached its peak popularity during the Cultural Revolution. After 1949, the CPC expressed concern that the lyrics promoted a personality cult of Mao. With the discrediting of the lyricist for the PRC national anthem, 'The March of the Volunteers' (义勇军进行曲), Tian Han 田汉 (1898-1968), whose historical play a *People's Daily* article of 1 February 1966 denounced, that anthem quickly fell from favour. Already popular in part due to its alluring folk melody, 'The East is Red' replaced 'The March of the Volunteers' in public use until 1970. In that year 'The March of the Volunteers' returned to use in festivities celebrating the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the PRC.

17a. Lozenge badge with text: 'The East is Red,' Tian'anmen sunrise; red and white enamel, gold metal. Ca. 1966-1970.
菱形有'东方红'字样的天安门日出纪念章; 红色珐琅和金色金属. 约 1966-1970年.

17b. Badge with Tian'anmen sunrise; red enamel and gold metal. Ca. 1966-1970.
天安门日出纪念章; 红色珐琅和金色金属. 约 1966-1970年.

17c. Polygonal badge with text: 'Beijing,' Tian'anmen sunrise; red enamel and gold metal. Ca. 1966-1970.
多边形的有'北京'字样天安门日出纪念章; 红色珐琅和金色金属. 约 1966-1970年.

17d. Badge with Tian'anmen sunrise; gold metal. Ca. 1966-1970.
天安门日出纪念章; 金色金属. 约 1966-1970年.

17e. Foliate badge with Tian'anmen sunrise; red enamel and gold metal. Ca. 1966-1970.
圆角长方形的天安门日出纪念章; 红色珐琅和金色金属. 约 1966-1970年.

17f. Badge with traditional embroidery design of sun rising over waves; gold metal with red enamel. Ca. 1966-1970.
传统刺绣形的海上日出纪念章; 金色金属和红色珐琅. 约 1966-1970年.

17g. Red flag-shaped badge with Mao cameo, Tiananmen sunrise; red enamel and gold metal. Ca. 1966-1970.
红旗形有毛泽东形象和天安门日出纪念章; 红色珐琅和金色金属. 约 1966-1970年.

17h. Red flag-shaped badge with text: 'Long Live Invincible Mao Zedong Thought,' Mao cameo, red flags; gold metal with red enamel. Ca. 1966-1970.
红旗形有'战无不胜的毛泽东思想万'字样, 毛主席形象, 红旗 纪念章; 金色金属和红色珐琅. 约 1966-1970年.

Badges of various shapes, designs, slogans, and materials illustrate the concept 'The East is Red.' Several in the Gayn collection do so by combining images of the main gate of Beijing's Forbidden City, Tian'anmen 天安门 (lit. 'Gate of Heavenly Peace'), with solar imagery (cat. nos. 17a-e, 17g). Some of these badges frame Tian'anmen with a semicircular solar halo (cat. nos. 17a, 17e). Other badges depict rays of light emanating from Tian'anmen (cat. nos. 17b-d). One badge (cat. no. 17c) supplements the basic message by labeling the place, 'Beijing.' One badge shows a sun rising over waves in a pattern traditionally used on embroidered court robes (cat. no. 17f), the sun rising over waves an alternative to its rising over Tian'anmen. One red and white enameled badge frames Tian'anmen against a red sun, with a halo of rays; lest the iconography be unclear, it bears the text 'The East is Red' (cat. no. 17a).

Absent text, the legibility of these badges derives from their visual relationship to backdrops in the last portion of the musical drama 'The East is Red.' Filmed in 1965 for distribution to mass audiences after repeated performances in Beijing's Great Hall of the People in 1964, this musical drama presents a sweeping account of the CPC prehistory of the PRC; the film features performances by more than three thousand singers, dancers, and musicians. Premier Zhou Enlai 周恩来 (1898-1976) created the musical in 1964 under the title 'March Forward under the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought' (在毛澤東旗幟下高歌猛進), but it was renamed 'The East is Red' after the first song performed. The backdrops for the filmed version of 'The East is Red' thus provided the visual vocabulary for record sleeves for albums in which 'The East is Red' served as the title track, anthologized together with other patriotic songs (cat. no. 18). The imagery of these badges also resonates with that of the National Emblem of the PRC 中华人民共和国国徽, adopted on 20 September 1950.

18. ***The East is Red, The Helmsman Sets the Ocean Course, Long Live Chairman Mao – Songs and Music*; and songbook. Beijing: China Record Company, 1967.**
《东方红; 大海航行靠舵手; 毛主席, 祝您万寿无疆 – 歌曲乐曲》, 附歌本. 北京: 中国唱片总公司, 1967年.

Featuring an image of Tian'anmen with the sun rising red in the east, colouring the entire sky, this record sleeve pictures the most popular patriotic song of the period while showcasing two further songs about and for Chairman Mao. A collection of six songs, none could compare with the fame and proletarian credibility of the title track. This is because 'The East is Red' originated as a peasant love song in the vicinity of the Communist base at Yan'an 延安 in the 1930s. The original lyrics of its melody, current among peasants there circa 1936-1948, read:

Sesame oil, cabbage (lit. 'white cabbage') hearts,
Wanna eat string beans, break off the tips,
Get really lovesick if I don't see you for three days,
Hu-er-hai-you
Oh dear, Third Brother mine.

芝麻油，白菜心，
要吃豆角抽筋筋。
三天不见想死个人，
呼儿咳哟，
哎呀，我的三哥哥。

Around 1938, during the Second Sino-Japanese War, the lyrics were re-written to support the Eighth Route Army 八路军 that fought the Japanese under the command of the CPC. These new lyrics proclaim:

Riding a white horse, carrying a rifle,
Third brother is with the Eighth Route Army.
Wanna go home to see my girl,
Hu-er-hai-you,
But fighting Japan, I don't have the time.

骑白马，跨洋枪，
三哥哥吃的是八路军的粮，
有心回家看姑娘，
呼儿咳哟，
打日本我顾不上。

Despite recalling the original folk song – the 'white cabbage' becomes a 'white horse,' and the 'Third Brother' and the phrase 'Hu-er-hai-you' figure in both – the new lyrics recast the original love song as a political one.

The transformation of 'The East is Red' from folk song, to anti-Japanese ballad, to national anthem met Mao's aims for the making of true proletarian art. Chapter Thirty-Two, 'Culture and Art,' of Mao's *Quotations* notes:

> Our literary and art workers must [...] gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, [...] through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.

> 我们的文艺工作者一定要[...]把立足点移过来，一定要在深入工农兵[...]、深入实际斗争的过程中，在学习马克思主义和学习社会的过程中，逐渐地移过来，移到工农兵这方面来，移到无产阶级这方面来。只有这样，我们才能有真正为工农兵的文艺，真正无产阶级的文艺。

'The East is Red' embodied the creative process outlined by Mao at Yan'an. Although multiple accounts of the metamorphosis of the song exist, all of these accounts indicate that Communist cultural workers engaged local peasants and vice-versa to rewrite the lyrics of a love song into those of a devotional anthem to a military and political leader. 'The East is Red' thus realized the aesthetic aims of the Cultural Revolution while solidifying Mao's power, timelessness, and importance to the Chinese people.

Case Five

Quotations from Chairman Mao:
Chapter Seventeen, 'Serving the People' – 'In Memory of Norman Bethune'

Following sequences of chapters that address the Communist Party and it tenets (1-4), war (5-9), and political leadership (10-16), *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* shifts its focus to issues of service and patriotism, beginning with Chapter Seventeen, 'Serving the People' (为人民服务). Of nine quotations in the chapter, the first three directly invoke the concept of 'serving the people,' including the first that affirms: 'We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul [....]' (我们应该谦虚. 谨慎，戒骄，戒躁，全心全意地为人民服务 [...]). Here the spirit of service to the Chinese Communist state is succinctly stated.

Whereas the first three quotations detail how one might serve the people, the fourth quotation introduces Norman Bethune (1890-1939). A Canadian Communist surgeon known in Chinese as Bai Qiu'en 白求恩, Bethune worked with the Eighth Route Army during the Second Sino-Japanese War, ultimately dying of blood poisoning contracted on the battlefield. The fourth quotation, the first in the chapter to personify service, begins:

> Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people.
>
> 白求恩同志毫不利己专门利人的精神， 表现在他对工作的极端的负责任， 对同志对人民的极端的热忱。

Here, the text uses Bethune to exemplify the abstract concepts articulated in the first three quotations of the chapter.

19. Red Guards Congress of Colleges and Universities in the Capital, and the Red Painting Soldiers of the 'The East Is Red Commune' of the Beijing Film Academy. *Quotations from Chairman Mao* [...] '*In Memory of Norman Bethune*.' Beijing: People's Fine Art Publishing House, February 1967.

首都大专院校红代会， 北京电影学院东方红公社红画兵.《毛主席语录 [⋯] 纪念白求恩》. 北京: 人民美术出版社, 1967年2 月.

Complicated in composition, this poster illustrates the deeds of Norman Bethune, a member of the Communist Party of Canada and a committed anti-Fascist, who travelled to China in 1938. An alumnus of the University of Toronto (BSc Med 1916), Bethune was a brilliant military doctor, an inventor, and a humanitarian. After beginning his career in surgery in Canada and serving as a field surgeon during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), in which he established a mobile blood transfusion unit, Bethune travelled to China in 1938. At the Communist base in Yan'an Bethune began his work, subsequently serving as the Medical Advisor to the Jin-Cha-Ji (that is, Shanxi, Chahar, Hebei) Border Region 晋察冀边区, and then serving with the Eighth Route Army. Cut while operating on a wounded soldier, Bethune died of blood poisoning in Tangxian 唐县, Hebei, on 11 November 1939.

Three visual elements together tell the story of Bethune and his service to China. First, at upper right, a pencil-sketch pictures Bethune at work. Second, at left, the poster reprints the second half of the fourth quotation of 'Serving the People,' taken from Mao's 1939 essay on Bethune 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' (纪念白求恩):

Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

> We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small,

but if he has this spirit, he is already noble minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

[From] 'In Memory of Norman Bethune'

毛主席语录

我们大家要学习他毫无自私自利之心的精神。从这点出发，就可以变为大有利于人民的人。一个人能力有大小，但只要有这点精神，就是一个高尚的人，一个纯粹的人，一个有道德的人，一个脱离了低级趣味的人，一个有益于人民的人。

《纪念白求恩》

This text articulates how Bethune serves as an example for service to the people. It is complemented by the third component of the poster, at lower right, a commercial-style, coloured gouache image of three youthful figures each holding one title of the 'Three Old Articles,' namely 'Serve the People' (为人民服务) of 1944, 'In Memory of Norman Bethune,' and 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains' of 1945. Before 1966 these essays by Mao were published as individual pamphlets, as they are rendered in the poster; after 1966 they were also published together in a single volume. These essays were also anthologized in Mao's *Selected Works*, and catchy excerpts from them were included in Mao's *Quotations*. In commemorating Bethune, the poster places him within the context of Mao's memorial text for him and of the other two, cognate texts of the 'Three Old Articles' that advocated altruistic service to the state.

20a. Badge in the shape of the 'Three Old Articles,' 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' on top. Ca. 1966-1976.
《老三篇: 纪念白求恩》纪念章. 约1966-1976年.

20b. Badge in the shape of the 'Three Old Articles,' 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' on top. Ca. 1966-1976.
《老三篇: 纪念白求恩》纪念章. 约1966-1976年.

20c. Badge in the shape of the 'Three Old Articles,' 'Serve the People' on top. Ca. 1966-1976.
《老三篇: 为人民服务》纪念章. 约1966-1976年.

20d. Badge in the shape of the 'Three Old Articles,' 'The Foolish Old Man who Removed the Mountains' on top. Ca. 1966-1976.
《老三篇: 愚公移山》纪念章. 约 1966-1976年.

20e. Badge in the shape of 'In Memory of Norman Bethune.' Ca. 1966-1976.
《纪念白求恩》纪念章. 约 1966-1976年.

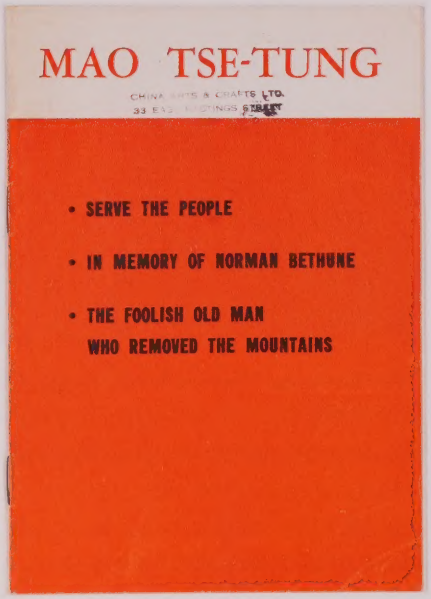
20f. Badge in the shape of 'Serve the People.' Ca. 1966-1976.
《为人民服务》纪念章. 约 1966-1976年.

Six plastic badges from the Gayn collection (cat. nos. 20a-20e) are miniature replicas of the 'Three Old Articles' that celebrate the altruistic goals and higher reading level associated with these booklets. Four badges each represent a complete set of the three pamphlets by stacking three small rectangles of plastic, each an effigy of one pamphlet, one atop the next, with the uppermost rectangle printed in red and gold with one of the three pamphlet titles written on a vertical title slip (cat. nos. 20a-d). Two badges of this type, with slight variations, are tiny facsimiles of 'Three Old Articles' with 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' on top (cat. nos. 20a-b). A virtually identical badge instead places 'Serve the People' on top (cat. no. 20c), while another badge positions 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains' first (cat. no. 20d). Two additional badges represent a single pamphlet from

the set. Composed of a single rectangular piece of white plastic, the title of each pamphlet is printed on a horizontal red title slip in gold lettering; one bears 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' on its cover (cat. no. 20e), the other, 'Serve the People' (cat. no. 20f; not pictured). All six badges reproduce Mao's autograph on the white bodies of the miniature book covers, a detail faithful to the original, full-scale designs.

The 'Read Everyday' (天天读) campaign, begun during the Cultural Revolution in June 1966, established the place of the 'Three Old Articles' in the primary school curriculum. First promoted by Lin Biao for study by both ordinary soldiers and officers, the 'Read Everyday' campaign broadened the audience of the 'Three Old Articles' and made them a foundation for literacy acquisition. Specifically, this campaign selected *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* for use as a primer for children in grades one through three. The campaign also promoted the 'Three Old Articles' as principal texts for students in grades four to six because they were longer and more complex than the aphorisms of the *Quotations*, but shorter than the expansive text of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. The form of the covers of the 'Three Old Articles' was so popular that it was used widely for decorative purposes; as previously noted, it was part of the textile pattern on the blouse of Girl Gunner Doll (cat. no. 14).

21a. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Serve the People; In Memory of Norman Bethune; The Foolish Old Man who Removed the Mountains*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967.
毛泽东 (1893-1976). 《为人民服务; 纪念白求恩; 愚公移山》(英文版). 北京: 外文出版社, 1967年.



21b. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Five Articles by Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, vest pocket edition. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1968.
毛泽东 (1893-1976). 《老五篇》(英文袖珍版). 北京: 外文出版社, 1968年.

Published in English in 1967, the 'Three Old Articles' were later supplemented with Mao's 'On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party' (关于纠正党 内的错误思想) of 1929 and 'Combat Liberalism' (反对自由主义) of 1937, both essays outlining how problematic

viewpoints must be resolved within Communist Party structures. This produced the title *Five Articles by Chairman Mao Tse-tung*; in this anthology, Mao moves beyond the themes of serving the people that underpin the 'Three Old Articles' to insure ideological conformity to the aims of the Cultural Revolution. Published in English in 1968, *Five Articles by Chairman Mao Tse-tung* is not to be confused with Mao's better known *Five Essays on Philosophy* (五篇哲学著作). Unlike the larger format and fragile paper covers of the 'Three Old Articles,' the *Five Articles* emulated the small format and durable red covers of Mao's *Quotations*. Ideologically distinct from its predecessors, *Five Articles* was also more easily used by its readers.

22. *Baiqiuen* ('Bethune'): BAIQIUEN, writing tablet. Ca. 1967-1968.
白求恩: BAIQIUEN, 笔记本. 约 1967-1968 年.

Images of Norman Bethune pervaded Chinese society during the Cultural Revolution through media as diverse as the works of Chairman Mao, posters, and commercial products, such as this cover of a writing tablet. The image on this tablet cover is essentially the same as one found on *Comrade Bethune's Spirit* [...] (白求恩 [...] 同志的精神 [...]), a poster in the Gayn collection not included in this exhibition, published by the Shanghai Revolutionary Education Press 上海革命教育出版社 in March 1968. *Comrade Bethune's Spirit* reproduced an image exhibited in the 'Long Live the Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line' exhibition of 1967, an exhibition noted above (cat. no. 7). Although undated, the writing tablet was likely produced around the same time as the original work shown in Beijing or its Shanghai-based reproduction, *Comrade Bethune's Spirit*. The tablet cover deviates from *Comrade Bethune's Spirit* in its proportions, and in the addition of Bethune's name, both Chinese characters and Pinyin Romanization, to the image. Formulaic and derivative, the tablet cover nonetheless transmitted the opening sentences of Mao's quotation on Bethune, from Chapter Seventeen of the *Quotations* (translated above, cat. no. 19), to its audiences. In its function as a tablet cover, it tacitly encouraged its users to be selfless like Norman Bethune, and to apply knowledge gained by reading and writing.

23. Statue of Comrade Norman Bethune labelled 'Bethune' (*Baiqiuen*), Shiwan ware. Ca. 1967.
'白求恩' 塑像, 石湾陶塑. 约 1967 年.

Labelled 'Comrade Norman Bethune' (白求恩同志), a statue of unglazed Shiwan 石湾 stoneware, a type of pottery produced in and around the city of Foshan 佛山, Guangdong, transforms drawings and photographs of the man into a portrait figurine. Bethune's Mao suit and straw peasant sandals indicate his integration into the Eighth Route Army, his status as a physician communicated by his apron and stethoscope, common in the pencil sketches of him. The materiality of the stoneware – rough and brown – suggests the battlefields on which Bethune operated. Despite the campaign to 'Smash the Four Olds' (破四旧) begun in Beijing on 19 August 1966, this statue of Norman Bethune shows that traditional art-making methods such as those of the Shiwan kilns, in use since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), adapted to the needs of proletarian art and propaganda during the Cultural Revolution.

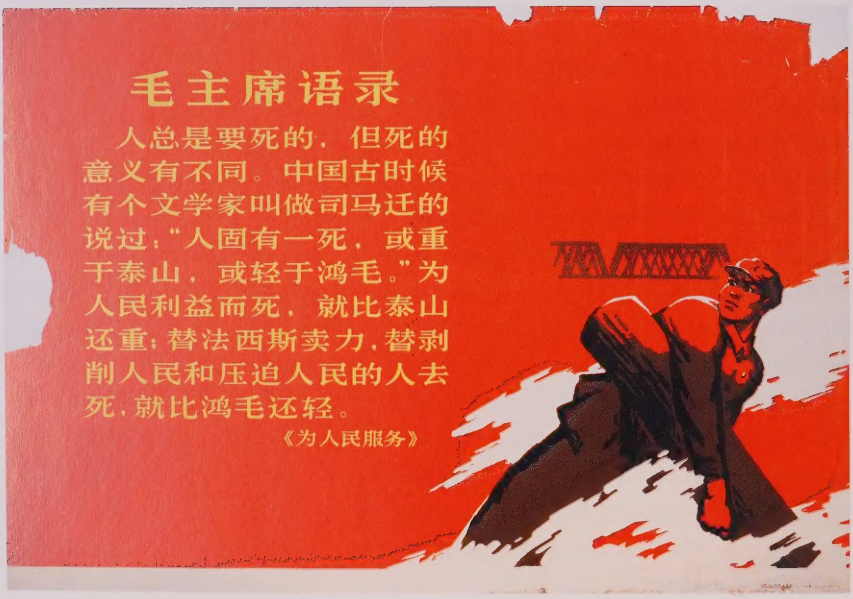
24. *Revolutionary People Love Reading the 'Old Three Articles' – Songs about the Study of Chairman Mao's Work*. Beijing: China Record Company, 1967.
《革命人愛讀‘老三篇’ - 歌唱學習毛主席著作的歌曲》. 北京: 中国唱片总公司, 1967年.

Cleverly composed, the record sleeve for *Revolutionary People Love Reading the 'Old Three Articles* [sic]' depicts three revolutionary figures – a male worker, a female peasant, and a male soldier – on a stage. Raising high copies of the 'Three Old Articles,' these figures stand before a backdrop of the red banners of Mao Zedong Thought and the red sun of Chairman Mao. Heavy curtains form left and right borders of the record sleeve, a stage serves as the field on which the bilingual title is written. By depicting a performance of Mao's works, the record sleeve recalls the filmed version of 'The East is Red' musical, performed on stage at the Great Hall of the People against lushly patriotic painted backdrops (cat. no. 17).

The songs recorded on this album encourage the reading of the 'Three Old Articles.' The first song, 'Comrade Lin Biao Issues a Great Call' (林彪同志发号召) communicates Lin Biao's role in fostering study of the 'Three Old Articles.' Beyond recommending them for soldiers of all ranks and making them required reading for primary school children, Lin notably said of them, 'The Three Old Articles are the easiest to read, but to be really accomplished [in understanding them] is just not easy.' ('老三篇'最容易读, 真正做到就

不容易了). While the songs on Side One link the essays to revolutionary people, workers, commune members, and soldiers, and endorse the essays as tools for advancing the Revolution, the songs recorded on Side Two encourage reading other works by Mao. Overall, *Revolutionary People Love Reading the 'Old Three Articles* [sic]' both promotes and contextualizes these popular essays by Mao in musical form.

25



Case Six

Quotations from Chairman Mao: Chapter Seventeen, 'Serving the People'

Seminal within the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the title of Chapter Seventeen, 'Serving the People' became one of the most popular slogans of the Cultural Revolution. Closely linked to the 'Three Old Articles,' one of which bears the same Chinese title (officially translated into English as 'Serve the People'), the latter five of the nine quotations – three of which are drawn from the eponymous essay – address how the Army and cadres work to advance the interests of the people; how leadership must be responsible to the people; and how sacrifice, especially death, may be the ultimate service to the people.

Popular among soldiers in the PLA, 'Serving the People' described not only deaths in battle, but also those incurred during the regular operations of the army. Before the Cultural Revolution, the state promoted the PLA soldier, Lei Feng 雷锋 (1940-1962), killed on duty when a truck backed into him, as a model of selfless service to the state. During the Cultural Revolution, the study of Lei Feng subsided. From 1966 to 1969 further examples of PLA soldiers killed while performing their daily duties proliferated. These included: Cai Yongxiang 蔡永祥 (1948-1966), discussed below (cat. no. 25); Liu Yingjun刘英俊 (1945-1966), killed reining in a stampeding horse; Wang Jie王 杰 (1942-1965), also discussed below (cat. no. 27); and Ouyang Hai 欧阳海 (1940-1963), killed while attempting to remove a frightened horse from railroad tracks.

25. Red Guards Congress of Colleges and Universities in the Capital, and the Red Painting Soldiers of the 'The East Is Red Commune' of the Beijing Film Academy. *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*: [...] *'Serving the People.'* Beijing: People's Fine Arts Publishing House, July 1967.
首都大专院校红代会, 北京电影学院东方红公社红画兵. 《毛主席语录: '为人民服务' 》. 北京: 人民美术出版社, 1967年7月.

Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong: [...] *'Serving the People'* showcases the words of Mao. These are paired with a polychrome image rendered in a dramatic, woodblock-printed style. The image, however, does not literally illustrate the text. Rather, the image illustrates the meaning of the text. This pairing of text and image, related by theme and not by content, would have forced an engaged viewer, familiar with Mao's writings, to connect the text to the image, and to their cultural and ideological contexts.

Text and image portray the heroic action preceding a death of significance, a death for the people. The text, the last entry of Chapter Seventeen, 'Serving the People,' states:

> All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien [Sima Qian] said, 'Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather.' To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.
>
> 人总是要死的，但死的意义有不同。中国古时候有个文学家叫做司马迁的说过：'人固有一死，或重于泰山，或轻于鸿毛。'为人民利益而死，就比泰山还重；替法西斯卖力，替剥削人民和压迫人民的人去死，就比鸿毛还轻。

In this passage, Mao's text immortalizes Zhang Side 张思德 (1915-1944), a poor peasant from Yilong County 仪陇县, Sichuan, who rose through the ranks of the PLA, joining the Party in 1937, serving the Central Military Commission 中央军事委员会, and guarding Mao himself. Zhang was killed making coal in Ansai County 安塞县, Shaanxi, during a KMT blockade of the region.

This poster tests its viewer's ability to decode text and image, pairing Mao's text on Zhang Side with an image of Cai Yongxiang preparing to heave a log from a railroad bridge behind him, an altruistic act that cost him his life. Born to a poor peasant family from Feidong county 肥东县, Anhui, Cai enlisted in the PLA in February 1966, and studied the heroism of Lei Feng, Wang Jie, Ouyang Hai, and Liu Yingjun. On 10 October 1966 around 2:43 am, while guarding the Qiantang River Bridge 钱塘江大桥 near Hangzhou 杭州, Cai attempted to remove a log from the path of the oncoming #764 passenger train from Nanchang 南昌; able to remove the log and avert an accident, Cai was nonetheless hit by the train and killed, his death saving many lives, including those of Red Guards aboard the train. On 31 October 1966, the writer and poet Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) wrote a lyric poem 'To the tune of the "Prelude to the Water Melody": Cai Yongxiang' (水调歌头·蔡永祥) honouring Cai's actions; on the same day the *PLA Daily* memorialized Cai in an essay 'A Communist Soldier Devoted to the Public' (一心为公的共产主义战士).

26. Portrait of Cai Yongxiang, papercut. Ca. 1968.
蔡永祥肖像, 剪纸. 约 1968 年.

A papercut illustrating the heroism of Cai Yongxiang, labeled by name at lower left, embodies the ideal of proletarian art of the Cultural Revolution. Chapter Thirty-Two, 'Culture and Art,' of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* clarified the purpose of literature and art in the PRC, its third entry noting:

> All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.
>
> 我们的文学艺术都是为人民大众的，首先是为工农兵的，为工农兵而创作，为工农兵所利用的。

By representing a heroic soldier in a papercut, the artist makes Communist political ideology legible in an established visual language of China's peasants.

Although used for Communist propaganda during the Cultural Revolution, papercutting was an established folk art in traditional China. Practised as early as the Eastern Han 東漢 dynasty (25-220 CE), this art form reached its apogee during the Ming 明 (1368-1644) and Qing 清 (1644-1912) dynasties. Most frequently made from red paper in traditional China, papercuts adorned a variety of surfaces, transmitting auspicious meanings for holidays and celebrations. Fashioned in the style of woodblock-printed propaganda posters, this papercut of Cai Yongxiang exemplifies the repurposing of traditional folk art as revolutionary medium in New China.

27. Shandong Provincial Art School, Fine Art Division Collective. *Complete Dedication to the Revolution: Chairman Mao's Good Soldier – Wang Jie*, set of sixteen images. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, January 1966.
山东省艺术学校美术科集体.《一心为革命：毛主席的好戰士 －王杰 》, 十六画像. 上海:上海人民美術出版社, 1966年1 月.

Printed in January 1966, this series of sixteen images tells the story of Wang Jie, a 'Good Soldier for Chairman Mao' (毛主席的好戰士). A native of Jinxiang County 金乡县, Shandong, accounts of Wang's service in the PLA differ. Alternatively described as a Platoon Leader of an Engineering Corps and as a Platoon Leader in an Armoured Troop Platoon, both in his native Shandong province, sources agree that Wang was ultimately assigned to the Zhanglou Commune 张楼公社, Bei County 邳县, Jiangxi. There, while organizing landmines training for the local People's Militia on 14 July 1965, a mine was accidentally tripped. To save twelve others present, Wang threw himself on top of the landmine, and was killed. Beautifully painted in gouache on paper, the images blend styles of modern Chinese ink painting with Western Socialist Realist poster painting techniques.

The subject of a 'Learn from' (学习 *xuexi*) campaign, accounts of Wang Jie's heroism emphasize his knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and of the works of Chairman Mao, an aspect of his life illustrated in *Complete Dedication to the Revolution.* The first image of the series shows Wang being handed a copy of the 'Three Old Articles,' with 'Serve the People' clearly visible on top; its caption notes that Wang allegedly told his commander: 'At present the task of the soldier is revolution, carrying the works of the Chairman by his side.' (当兵为的是革命, 主席著作带身边.) Further images show Wang's engagements with Mao's writings. The third image portrays Wang reading and writing; the tenth, pictured above, shows Wang distributing copies of Mao's philosophical text, *On Practice* (实践论). Fittingly, the sixteenth and final image pictures the martyred Wang Jie holding a pamphlet of Mao's essay 'Carry Out the Revolution to its End' (将革命进行到底), Wang's death – like his life – one step in the advance towards revolution. Beyond its message of selfless service, *Complete Dedication to the Revolution* depicts literacy and reading as being of critical importance to such service.

28. *Chairman Mao's Fighters are the Closest Followers of the Party*. Beijing: China Record Company, 1967.

《毛主席的战士最听党的話(歌曲)》. 北京: 中国唱片总公司, 1967 年.

With a record sleeve depicting a PLA soldier holding a copy of the fourth volume of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* to show his thorough knowledge of Mao's works, the phonograph album *Chairman Mao's Fighters are the Closest Followers of the Party* showcases thirteen patriotic songs of the Chinese army, including the title track. The album opens with 'Song of the Three-Eight Working Style' (三八作風歌). This song is about three phrases – 'firm and correct political orientation' (坚定正确的政治方向), 'industrious and frugal work style' (艰苦朴素的工作作风), 'flexible strategy and tactics' (灵活机动的战略战术) – and eight characters – 'be united' (团结), 'alert' (紧张), 'earnest' (严肃), and 'lively' (活泼). First inscribed by Mao in March 1938 at Yan'an's Anti-Japanese Military and Political

College 中国人民抗日军事政治大学, where they came to serve as the motto of the school, Lin Biao transformed them into the 'Three-Eight Working Style' (三八作风), which combined political and military agendas; the writings from which the 'Three-Eight' are drawn are included in Chapter Twelve, 'Political Work' (政治工作), of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung.*

The programme of songs – nine on the first side addressing the army and revolutionary themes, and four on the second side engaging mundane aspects of life in the service to the state – describes ideological and practical roles of the PLA in China during the Cultural Revolution. These dual roles are clearly articulated in the lyrics of the title song, *Chairman Mao's Fighters are the Closest Followers of the Party*, for example, in its first stanza:

> Chairman Mao's fighters are the closest followers of the Party,
> Where they are needed, that's where they go,
> Where [things are] hard, that's where they settle.
> The motherland needs me to keep watch at her border checkpoints,
> Slinging a gun over my shoulder I go, making up my pack I set off.
> Hey!
>
> 毛主席的战士最听党的话，
> 哪里需要到哪里去，
> 哪里艰苦哪安家。
> 祖国要我守边卡，
> 扛起枪杆我就走，打起背包就出发。
> 嘿!

As the song lyrics indicate, the PLA soldier follows Party ideology, but implements it practically by serving the people as needed.

Case Seven

Quotations from Chairman Mao: Chapter Thirty, 'Youth'

Towards the end of the thirty-three-chapter *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, Chapters Twenty-Eight to Thirty-One respectively describe the roles of Communists, cadres, youth, and women in New China, with Chapter Thirty, 'Youth' (青年) composed of seven quotations about how the youth of the 1960s will contribute to China's future. While acknowledging the vitality of youth, these quotations consider how to educate a generation that will complete the revolution, especially in light of China's poverty, and because:

> [...Q]uite a number of young people are unable to see the contrast between the old China and the new, and it is not easy for them thoroughly to comprehend the hardships our people went through in the struggle to free themselves from the oppression of the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries [...].
>
> 不少青年人 [...] 不善于把旧中国和新中国加以比较，不容易深切了解我国人民曾经怎样经历千辛万苦的斗争才摆脱了帝国主义和国民党反动派的压迫 [...]。

Here Mao makes clear the need for a younger generation to empathize with those oppressed in China before 1949, and thus to sustain revolutionary aims even though they may have no direct experience of their preconditions.

'Youth' also addresses issues of the interrelation of youth, physical strength, and revolution. The last quotation of the chapter, for example, notes:

> [...T]he Youth League should do its own work to suit the special characteristics of youth. [...] Young people have to study and work, but they are at the age of physical growth. Therefore, full attention must be paid both to their work and study and to their recreation, sport and rest.
>
> 青年团 [...] 有适合青年特点的独立工作。 [...] 青年们要学习,要工作,但 青年时期是长身体的时期。因此,要充分兼顾青年的工作、学习和娱乐 、体育、休息两个方面。

Long of interest to Mao, these issues formed the substance of his first article 'A Study of Physical Culture' (体育之研究), published in the journal *New Youth* (新青年) in 1917. Thus in Chapter Thirty of the *Quotations* Mao attends to the minds and bodies of young people as instruments of China's future.

29. Jinggangshan Commune, Beijing Film Academy. *Mao Zedong: 'The world is yours, as well as ours* [...].' Beijing: People's Fine Arts Publishing House, January 1967.
北京电影学院，井崗山公社.《毛泽东: 世界是你们的,也是我们的[...]》. 北京: 人民美術出版社, 1967年1月.

Produced in 1967 by the Jinggangshan Commune of the Beijing Film Academy, this poster combines the words of Mao Zedong with a cinematic composition that shows China's youth, wielding copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, poised to surge forward into the future. Based on a painting in gouache, this poster is executed in a commercial style more typical of posters published in Shanghai than in Beijing. Yet, film studios in China used this appealing commercial aesthetic in the preparation of promotional posters for films: it is unsurprising that this style was used in a poster produced by the Beijing Film Academy. The poster beautifully combines the two most important colours of the Chinese Communist palette – red and yellow – into a subtle vision of red sun rising over rosy dawn,

the red words of Mao Zedong hovering in the already illuminated sky above the figures and the red banners of Maoist thought that lead them.

Even as the cinematographic sensibility of the poster – the diagonal band of youth stretching towards the sun on the horizon – conveys a sense of future movement, this visual content matches perfectly the words of Chairman Mao reproduced on the poster. The first quotation of Chapter Thirty, 'Youth,' of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, partially reproduced above (Case Four, p. 51) states in full:

> The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you. The world belongs to you. China's future belongs to you.
>
> 世界是你们的，也是我们的，但是归根结底是你们的。你们青年人朝气蓬勃，正在兴旺时期，好象早晨八、九点钟的太阳。希望寄托在你们身上。世界是属于你们的。中国的前途是属于你们的。

Unlike many abstract texts anthologized within Mao's *Quotations*, this text is pragmatic and transparent. In using a simile to establish that China's youth are 'like the sun at eight or nine in the morning,' the text also includes a clear visual image. Thus this poster attends to and illustrates Mao's words in ways that are not always found in propaganda posters of the Cultural Revolution.

Unspoken but significant is the fact that, as Mao was symbolized by the red sun, his characterization of China's youth as being like the morning sun established their promise as equal to the force of Mao's achievements. The figures are clearly marked as his successors by their possession of his *Quotations* and by their wearing of Mao badges and Red Guard armbands. The Gayn collection contains both Mao badges and an armband like those pictured. In the spirit of Communist internationalism, the poster text also makes clear that Chinese youth of the 1960s will shape not only the future of China, but also that of the world.

30. *Youngsters Love Chairman Mao: Children's Voice* [sic] *in Unison*; and songbook. Beijing: China Record Company, 1967.
《少年儿童热爱毛主席 – 童声齐唱》；附歌本. 北京: 中国唱片总公司, 1967年.

Youngsters Love Chairman Mao presents eleven songs, a mixture of songs popular among adults and children alike, as well as songs written specifically for children. Favourite songs

for Chinese of all ages such as 'The East is Red' and 'The Helmsman Sets the Ocean Course' (大海航行舵手) are recorded in short versions suitable for singing by children. Other songs specifically target child performance, including 'Youngsters Love Chairman Mao' (少年儿童热爱毛主席). Further songs encourage children's literacy: 'Signboards with Quotations from Chairman Mao' (毛主席语录板) encourages children to read Mao quotations posted on signboards. 'Red Youngsters Love Reading the "Old Three Articles [sic]" Most' (红少年最爱读'老三篇') expands the repertoire of songs about distinct readerships for the 'Three Old Articles' beyond those recorded on *Revolutionary People Love Reading the 'Old Three Articles' – Songs about the Study of Chairman Mao's Work* (cat. no. 24), namely, 'Revolutionary People Love Reading the "Old Three Articles"' (革命人爱读'老三篇'), 'Workers Love Reading the "Old Three Articles"' (工人爱读'老三篇'), 'Commune Members Love Reading the "Old Three Articles"' (社员爱读'老三篇'), and 'We Soldiers Love the "Old Three Articles"' (战士热爱'老三篇'). Perhaps to encourage children's literacy, it is youth who are given the privilege of most loving to read these essays.

31. Eight assorted dolls and action figures. Ca. 1966.
做各种动作的八个人像玩具. 约 1966 年.

Among the most important tools for modeling children's behavior are dolls and action figures, which, through play, allow children actively to imagine who they might be or become in an ideal environment. By playing with dolls and action figures, children act out scenarios they might never encounter in their lives, but which might influence their behavior in the future. Dolls and action figures that communicate political ideology thus mould children into model citizens of the state that produced them.

Chinese dolls and action figures in the Gayn Collection produced during the Cultural Revolution demonstrate remarkable variety. Small rubber dolls include three female figures: one brandishes a copy of Mao's *Quotations*, one holds a hand grenade (both pictured above, left) and one plays an accordion, her armband identifying her as a member of a 'propaganda team' (宣传队). Two of the small rubber dolls are male, each carrying a firearm, one a pistol, the other a rifle. Likely produced for both domestic and foreign markets, qualitative differences in the small rubber dolls that perhaps reflect the divergent standards of local and export products are most clearly visible on the bases of these dolls. Regardless of such minor differences in quality, for their archetypal child-owners the smaller rubber dolls and action figures model a range of revolutionary behaviours,

including those that ran counter to gender stereotypes outside the Communist world during the 1960s. Made of hard plastic, two taller female dolls are dressed as a female Red Guard (with a copy of Mao's *Quotations* that cannot be removed from her hand) and as female miner (both pictured above, right). The original, English-language tags for these two dolls suggest that they may have been produced for export. For children in China and abroad, these two dolls served as a pre-literate introduction to Chinese socialist notions of revolution, gender equality, and the importance of Mao Zedong Thought, especially reading the *Quotations*.

Case Eight

Quotations from Chairman Mao:
Chapter Thirty-Three, 'Study'

Chapter Thirty-Three, 'Study' (学习), concludes the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, with sixteen quotations that direct its reader to further avenues for learning. The opening quotation of the chapter describes why study matters:

> In transforming backward agricultural China into an advanced industrialized country, we are confronted with arduous tasks and our experience is far from adequate. So we must be good at learning.
>
> 要把一个落后的农业的中国改变成为一个先进的工业化的中国，我们面前的工作是很艰苦的，我们的经验是很不够的。因此，必须善于学习。

Here Mao states the obvious: that the development of China depends on the ability of her people to learn.

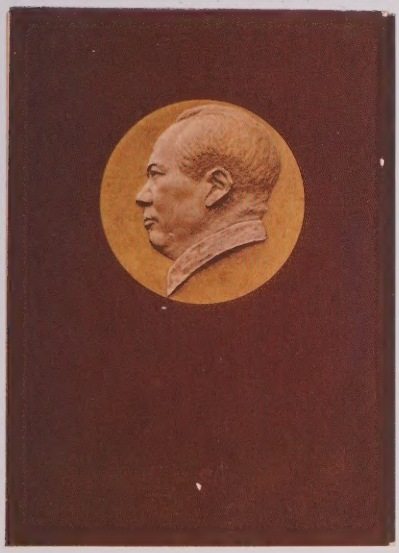
The proliferation of the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* indicates the primacy of that text during the Cultural Revolution. However, burgeoning numbers of readers and an expanding infrastructure for publishing contributed to the contemporaneous popularity of other titles. The materials recommended by the *Quotations* to its readers were classic works of Marxist theory – such as those by Karl Marx (1818-1883), Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), Lenin (1870-1924), and Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) – available in China at that time. These works circulated alongside Mao's own political and philosophical works, his published writing in other genres such as poetry, and select works of recent and pre-modern Chinese literature by a range of authors.

32. Zhou Ruizhuang (1930-). *A Lifetime of Revolution, a Lifetime of Studying the Works of Chairman Mao*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House, January 1966. First edition, seventh printing.
周瑞庄(1930年出生).《干一辈子革命 读一辈子毛主席书》. 上海: 上海人民美術出版社, 1966年1月, 第7次印刷.

Printed for the seventh time after the Central Committee of the CPC officially approved *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* for widespread publication within China at the end of 1965 and before the start of the Cultural Revolution on 16 May 1966, *A Lifetime of Revolution, a Lifetime of Studying the Works of Chairman Mao* links politics and knowledge. The simplified Chinese character text at the bottom of the poster and the *Pinyin* romanization at its top are to be read horizontally, from left to right, the direction in which modern Chinese is written. Yet the figural types of the standard phrase 'worker, peasant, soldier' (工农兵), the target audiences of Mao's works, are represented from right to left, the direction in which Classical Chinese was read.

Far from trivial, the direction in which text was written was part of the reform and simplification of written Chinese. Before 1949, Chinese texts were written in traditional characters, most frequently in vertical rows read from right to left. In the PRC, post-1949 language reform began to simplify characters and to array them in horizontal lines read from left to right. Worker, peasant, and soldier each embrace copies of volume four of *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* (毛澤東選集、第四卷). Like the first three volumes of Mao's *Selected Works*, volume four was, until 1966, printed in traditional characters, visible on its front cover, and in vertical lines read from right to left (cat. no. 33a). This is why, although the book title reads from left to right, the front cover of the book appears to be on what left-to-right readers would consider its back cover.

First published in April 1964, this poster indicates that Mao's books served as icons of his ideology even before mass publication of the *Quotations*. The workers' embrace of volume four of Mao's *Selected Works*, which anthologized Mao's writings from roughly the Surrender of Japan in 1945 to the founding of the PRC in 1949, marks their thorough knowledge of the writings of Mao as volume four, first published in 1960, was the last volume printed prior to the publication of this poster. The poster also renders the transformative power of Mao Zedong Thought on China after 1949. Below a red sun, a symbol of Mao, rises a hydroelectric dam. Likely the Xin'anjiang Power Station 新安江水电站 completed in 1957, red banners, symbols of Mao's ideology, adorn the dam to signal that the dam is both a product and an emblem of that system of thought.



33a. Mao Zedong. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, 4 volumes. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1951-1960.
毛澤東 (1893-1976).《毛澤東選集》,4 冊. 北京: 人民出版社, 1951-1960年.

33b. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, 4 volumes. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961-1965.
毛澤東 (1893-1976).《毛澤東選集》(英文版), 4 冊. 北京: 外文出版社, 1961-1965年.

The first four volumes of Mao's *Selected Works* anthologize some of Mao's essays and speeches from March 1926 to mid-September 1949. A fifth volume, first printed in 1977, continues this anthology from mid-September 1949 to November 1957. In the 1940s, as the Communists liberated areas, local CPC offices began to publish editions of the *Selected Works*; perhaps the earliest edition of the *Selected Works* is a five-volume set issued in 1944 by the Jin-Cha-Ji Daily News Agency 晋察冀日报社. By 1949, at least twenty-one different, local editions of the text circulated.

In the late 1940s, the CPC embarked on creating a standard edition of this text. A committee was struck by the CPC to undertake this task; by 1950, Mao himself had become involved in the project. More than reprint Mao's seminal works, the CPC chose texts for

the *Selected Works* to serve ideological needs with individual texts edited, many heavily, from their original form. So important was the text to the CPC that a select team of translators prepared the first English edition of 1954 for publication outside China. A further round of translation refined the English-language text of the *Selected Works*, subsequently published by the Foreign Languages Press in Beijing, the retranslated volume four appearing first, in April 1961.

Like *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the *Selected Works* was widely published, with over one hundred million of the four-volume sets sold by 1966-1967. Of Mao's writings, the *Selected Works* was the most frequently cited. Of four hundred twenty-seven quotations found in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*, two hundred ninety-one (sixty-eight per cent) originate in the *Selected Works*. For mass reading audiences, the *Quotations* thus served as a primer for and an introduction to reading the *Selected Works*.

Representations of the cover of the *Selected Works*, especially of volume four, symbolized mastery of Mao Zedong Thought in Chinese images of the period. Often represented by its white paper cover, the Chinese-language edition of *Selected Works* of *Mao Tse-tung* was sold with brown paper dust jackets embellished with a bronze-coloured Mao cameo. Now rare, the copies of Mao's *Selected Works* in this exhibition, from the collection of the Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library of the University of Toronto, retain their original dust jackets. Posters of the period, for example, *Advance Courageously Under the Guidance of the Red Flag of Mao Zedong Thought* (在毛泽东思想红旗指引下奋勇前进) first published by Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House (上海人民美术出版社) in September 1964 and printed for the fourth time in January 1966 (on display in this exhibition), prominently feature the *Selected Works* in its original dust jackets.

34. Suzanne Gayn (b. 1921). ***Monument to Mao's Works.* 1967.**
苏珊·盖恩(1921年出生). 有林彪题词广州街头的《毛泽东选集》纪念碑. 1967年.

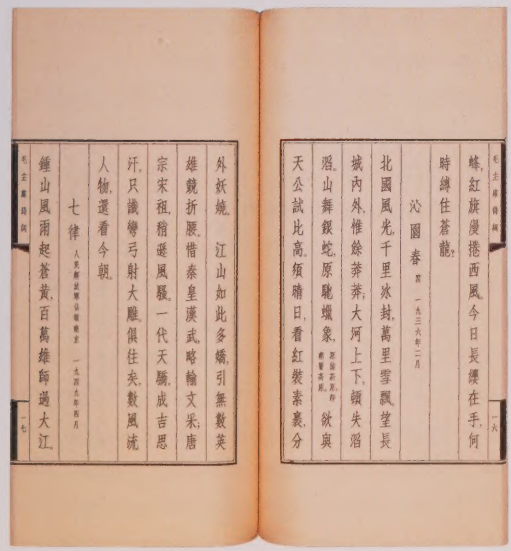
Taken by Suzanne Gayn in January 1967, this photograph (reproduced on p. 13) portrays a monument to books by Mao Zedong. Located in a traffic roundabout in Guangzhou, it takes the form of a traditional Chinese commemorative stele. It is, however, topped by an effigy of a four volume set of Mao's *Selected Works*; the set is indicated by the thickness of the book block and by a sculpted ribbon tied into a bow that binds the volumes together. The flowing forms of the ribbon mimic sinuous dragon forms used to ornament the tops of premodern Chinese steles, the implied models for this monument.

Even as the monument celebrates the *Selected Works*, it also encourages its viewer to study the works of Chairman Mao by making reference to the *Quotations from Chairman*

Mao Tse-Tung. Specifically, the stele bears a variant of Lin Biao's calligraphic frontispiece for the Second Chinese-language edition Mao's *Quotations*: 'Study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, and act according to his instructions, and be his good fighters.' (读毛主席的书, 听毛主席的话, 照毛主席的指示办事, 做毛主席的好战士). 'Large character posters' (大字报 *dazibao*), written by locals about current political events, cover its base. Together, the three parts of the monument – base, stele, and ornament – speak to the mobilization of books and the importance of the culture of Mao's books during the Cultural Revolution.

35a. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Poems of Chairman Mao*. Beijing: People's Literature Press, 1974 Second edition, second printing.
毛澤東 (1893-1976). 《毛主席詩詞》. 北京: 人民文學出版社, 1963年12月 第一版, 1974年6月北京第二版, 1974年6月北京第二次印刷.

35b. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). *Mao Tsetung: Poems*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1976. First edition.
毛泽东 (1893-1976). 《毛主席詩詞》(英文版). 北京: 外文出版社, 1976年.



Mao began his lifelong encounter with the Chinese classics in the village school in which he studied as a child. A skilled poet, Mao's works engaged Tang 唐 (618-907) and Song 宋 (960-1127) dynasty poetic styles, especially those of the romantic Tang dynasty poets Li Bai李白 (701-762), Li Shangyin 李商隱 (ca. 813-858), and Li He 李賀 (790-816). Technically accomplished in his use of Classical Chinese poetic structures, including allusions to old poems, Mao used these formal properties of poetry to structure works that recorded his experiences; these poems provide an alternative perspective on historical events in which Mao was active. Many of Mao's poems are necessarily political. But they also pioneer strategies for developing a proletarian Chinese poetry

grounded in communist ideology and current events, one formally linked to the rich tradition of Chinese poetics. A talented calligrapher, especially in standard (楷書 *kaishu*), running (行書 *xingshu*), and cursive (草書 *caoshu*) scripts, Mao enhanced the presentation of his poems by writing them with a brush; he also studied premodern calligraphy styles and copied canonical old poems in his calligraphy.

In thirty-seven works composed between 1925 and 1963, arranged in chronological order, the second edition of *Poems of Chairman Mao* of 1974 reveals the variety of his poetic oeuvre. Of these twenty-five are lyric (詞 *ci*) poems, a genre in which the lyrics of a specific, named premodern Chinese song – some with uneven line lengths and idiosyncratic rhyme patterns – dictate the metre and line lengths of the new work. Ten poems take the form of 'Seven-Character Regulated Verse' (七律 *qilü*), eight lines of seven characters each rhyming on the even lines, one rhyme scheme used throughout the poem and tonal patterns regulated (律). Two further poems are 'Seven-Character Quatrains' (七絕 *qijue*), regulated verse poems of four lines. Deeply personal, only a handful of Mao's poems were released before 1957, the year in which he turned sixty-five. In that year Poetry (詩刊, *Shi kan*), his first anthology, appeared.

36. Drinking glass with Mao's calligraphy of 'The Double Ninth' (*Cai sangzi – chongyang*). Ca. 1966-1976.
毛主席手书诗词《采桑子·重阳》金口玻璃杯. 约 1966-1976年.

A drinking glass printed with Mao's calligraphy of his poem officially translated into English as 'The Double Ninth,' but more accurately translated as 'To the tune of "Song of Picking Mulberries": The Double Ninth' (采桑子·重阳), indicates the importance of Mao's calligraphy as decoration during the Cultural Revolution. This glass, like other works by Mao, shows that Mao's practice of poetry and calligraphy were not private pursuits but public manifestations of his perspective on traditional art forms and their place in 1960s China. Mao's earlier thinking on the role of traditional Chinese arts in New China is expressed in his report, 'On Coalition Government' of 1945, anthologized in volume three of his *Selected Works*. It notes:

> The Chinese people's culture and education should be new-democratic, that is to say, China should establish her own new national, scientific and mass culture and education. [...A]ncient Chinese culture should neither be totally rejected nor blindly copied, but should be accepted discriminatingly so as to help the progress of China's new culture.
>
> 中国国民文化和国民教育的宗旨， 应当是新民主主义的； 就是说， 中国应当 建立自己的民族的、科学的、人民大众的 新文化和新教育。[...] 对于中 国古代文化， 同样, 既不是一概排斥， 也不是盲目搬用，而是批判地接收它，以利于推进中国的新 文化。

The persistence of Mao's classically-inflected artistic production after August 1966, during which month a campaign was launched to 'Smash the Four Olds and Cultivate the Four New' (破四旧立四新), the 'Four Olds' being Old Ideas, Old Culture, Old Customs, and Old Habits (旧思想旧文化旧风俗旧习惯), reveals the contradictions of the period, notably, the variety of art forms that co-existed within it despite such movements.

The glass and its poem embody the discriminating acceptance of ancient Chinese culture during the late 1960s or early 1970s. The poem printed on the glass was composed on the Double Ninth holiday, a lunar calendar holiday on which sun and moon are in their maximum positions, which fell on 11 October 1929, the day after a successful military campaign in western Fujian. The lyric structure (詞牌) of the poem follows the song 'Picking Mulberries' (采桑子) popularized by several Song dynasty poets including Liu Yong 柳永 (987-1053), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1011). Despite its associations with an ancient holiday and classical poetic models, the poem meditates on the day after the battle:

> Man ages all too easily, not Nature:
> Year by year the Double Ninth returns.
> On this Double Ninth,
> The yellow blooms on the battlefield smell sweeter.
> Each year the autumn wind blows fierce,
> Unlike spring's splendour,
> Yet surpassing spring's splendour,
> See the endless expanse of frosty sky and water.

人生易老天難老，歲歲重陽。
今又重陽，戰地黃花分外香。
一年一度秋風勁，不似春光。
勝似春光，寥廓江天萬里霜。

Mortality and survival in the face of adversity here in Mao's poem figure the promise of revolution. Moreover, these enduring themes were reproduced and distributed on drinking glasses such as this one.

37. Box lid, *Construction Picture Cubes*; with an excerpt of Mao's calligraphy for his poem 'Swimming – to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou [*Shui diao ge tou*].' Ca. 1969.
有毛主席手书诗词《水调歌头·游泳》的《建设六面画》盒盖. 约1969年.

Poetic lines excerpted from Mao Zedong's lyric poem, 'Swimming – to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou [*Shui diao ge tou*]' (水调歌头·游泳) of June 1956, adorn the lid of a box containing a set of *Construction Picture Cubes* (建设六面画). 'Picture cubes' (六面画), a type of six-sided children's puzzle produced in China from at least the 1930s were popular in 1960s China. This set, perhaps made for adolescents, depicts Chinese engineering triumphs of the 1950s and 1960s; other examples in the Gayn Collection, namely *Picture Cubes: Little Red Soldiers* (红小兵六面画) of ca. 1966-1976 and *Small Heroes of Vietnam* (越南小英雄), picture cubes of ca. 1965-1975, are designed for small children. The box lid depicts the same image as one face of the puzzle, the Wuhan Yangtze River Great Bridge 武汉长江大桥 completed in

September 1957 and opened on 15 October 1957. Mao's calligraphy, rendered in yellow on a red background as was popular during the Cultural Revolution in posters and embroideries, states:

> Sails move with the wind.
> Tortoise and Snake are still.
> Great plans are afoot:
> A bridge will fly to span the north and south,
> Turning a deep chasm into a thoroughfare.
>
> 風檣動，龜蛇靜，起宏圖。
> 一橋飛架南北，天塹變通途。

Describing the not-yet-completed bridge, the poem from which these lines come was written by Mao to a song lyric famously associated with a poem by Su Shi. The occasion that led Mao to pen this poem were his first three swims in the Yangtze River, undertaken during a visit to southern China.

Moved by his baptism in China's most important river, in the last section of the poem, which follows the excerpt quoted on the box lid, Mao further imagined the future Yangtze landscape, not only near Wuhan, but along its length. The poem states:

> Walls of stone will stand upstream to the west
> To hold back Wushan's clouds and rain
> Till a smooth lake rises in the narrow gorges.
> The mountain goddess if she is still there
> Will marvel at a world so changed.
>
> 更立西江石壁，截斷巫山雲雨，高峽出平湖。
> 神女應無恙，當驚世界殊。

Presaging the Three Gorges Dam 长江三峡水利枢纽工程 that opened in 2008, 'Swimming' articulates Mao's desire to dam the Yangtze below Wushan 巫山 (lit. 'Mount Wu') in Sichuan, a project first proposed in 1919 by Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (1866-1925), founding father of the Republic of China 中華民國. To this end, Mao alludes to the mythological Goddess of Wushan 巫山女神 via the poetry of Song Yu 宋玉 (ca. 319–298 BCE); elsewhere, the poem also alludes to Confucius 孔子.

As marketing, the use of Mao's poetic lines on the box lid for *Construction Picture Cubes* is genius. The lines themselves describe Mao's perception of the engineering marvel portrayed on one face of the *Construction Picture Cubes* while it was being built. Moreover, the quoted lines lead the knowledgeable reader to those not quoted, implying by reference to those lines the possibility of even greater technological marvels such as a Yangtze River dam. In quoting lines from 'Swimming' the makers of *Construction Picture Cubes* sell their toy by alluding to China's rich cultural past, progressive Communist present, and technologically advanced future.

38. The [In-] House Poster Group. *Raise High the Great Red Flag of Mao Zedong Thought to Carry Out to the End the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House, July 1967. First edition, fifth printing. 本社宣傳画组.《高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗把无产阶级文化大革命进行到底》.上海:上海人民美術出版社, 1967年7 月第5 次印.

First published in July 1966, this poster – a fifth reprint of July 1967 – reprises the title of an essay, 'Raise High the Great Red Flag of Mao Zedong Thought to Carry Out to the End the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' (高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗把无产阶级文化大革命进行到底). This essay affirmed the importance of Mao and the Cultural Revolution in May-June 1966 when Mao was marginalized within the CPC and absent from Beijing. Originally published in the *PLA Daily* on 6 June 1966, this essay was reprinted repeatedly, including in the *People's Daily* on the same day, in *Peking Review* on 15 July 1966, and in 1966 as a pamphlet by People's Press人民出版社. The original publication prefaced this essay thus:

Editor's note: The *PLA Daily* today published [an article] to publicize and educate [people about] the main points of the Great Cultural Revolution. This popular account of the main points narrates, since Liberation [that is, the Revolution of 1949] the history of struggle on ideological and cultural fronts, [that is,] between two classes – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie – and two roads – socialism and capitalism. It clarifies Chairman Mao's important instructions on the path of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. [It] analyzes the excellent situation of the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, [and] points out the nature of this Great Revolution, [its] significance, and its far-reaching influence. These main points also raise the battle call to the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, precisely so that the proletarian revolutionaries can carry out to the end this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These points are also suitable for the majority of workers and peasants, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. [One] hopes that everyone [will have a] well-organized reading and discussion [of this article, and thus] take the current, in-process, [and] vigorously-launched Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution [and] advance it forward [at least] one more step.

编者按：《解放军报》今天发表了一个关于文化大革命的宣传教育要点。这个要点通俗地叙述了解放以来我国思想文化战线上无产阶级和资产阶级、社会主义和资本主义两个阶级两条道路斗争的历史情况，阐明了毛主席关于无产阶级文化革命路线的重要指示，分析了当前无产阶级文化大革命的大好形势，指出了这场大革命的性质、意义及其深远影响。这个要点，还向解放军指战员提出了战斗的号召，就是要做彻底的无产阶级革命派，把这场无产阶级文化大革命进行到底。这个要点，对于广大的工农群众，革命干部和革命知识分子，也是适合的。希望大家很好地组织阅读和讨论，把当前正在蓬勃开展的文化大革命，再向前推进一步。

This preface concisely articulates the aims of the Cultural Revolution.

Printed in Shanghai, where Party support for Mao was greater than it was in Beijing when the essay was first published, this poster strives to translate the text of the essay into pictures. The essay links the Communist Revolution of 1949 to the Cultural Revolution, and the composition of the poster reinforces this sensibility: the figures marching right-to-left recall the imagery of the relief carved friezes on the base of the Monument to the People's Heroes 人民英雄纪念碑 in Beijing, completed in 1958, especially the friezes commemorating the May Fourth Movement 五四運動 of 1919 and the Nanchang

Uprising 南昌起義 of 1927. The poster also pictures cadres and intellectuals, as well as workers, peasants, and soldiers, thus conforming to the text of the essay. The poster illustrates figures carrying volume four of Mao's *Selected Works*, indicating their comprehensive knowledge of Mao Zedong Thought. Beyond illustrating the basic points of the essay, this poster bolsters that imagery with iconographies of Mao as the Great Red Sun and the Red Banners of his thought.

39. *Long Live Chairman Mao, the Reddest, Reddest Red Sun in Our Hearts! Long Long Live* [*Chairman Mao*]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House, July 1967. First edition, second printing.
《我们心中最红最红的红太阳毛主席万岁！万万岁！》上海：上海人民美術出版社，1967年7月第2次印.

First published in April 1967, and reprinted for the second time in July 1967, this poster merges conventional imagery of Mao as the Great Red Sun with unconventional imagery of people worshipping him. The Mao portrait in the upper portion of the poster, like another of him found in *Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the Red Sun in the Hearts of the World's Revolutionary People* in the Gayn Collection, is derived from a famous photograph of him taken on 1 January 1967. Beyond the uncanny effect of manually recreating an iconic photographic image as a gouache painting, and backstopping that portrait with a red solar halo lest the iconography be unclear, the poster arrays figures with their backs to the viewers. Clad in the dress of workers, peasants, and soldiers, as well as ethnic minorities, these figures face the rising red sun of Mao with their arms upraised, the *Quotations* in hand.

The origins of the slogan 'Long Live Chairman Mao, the Reddest, Reddest Red Sun in Our Hearts! Long Long Live [Chairman Mao]' printed on this poster are unclear. An article in the *PLA Daily* of 4 February 1966, 'Mao Zedong Thought is Always the Red Sun in our Heart' (毛泽东思想永远是我们心中的红太阳) used this phrase, as well as

another streamlined iteration of it, 'Mao Zedong Thought is the Red Sun in our Heart' (毛泽东思想是我们心中的红太阳), to establish this trope among members of the PLA before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. On this poster, the slogan takes a hyperbolic and reduplicative form – the diction of an impassioned chant – a form associated with Lin Biao and his crafting of a personality cult of Mao. Use of this slogan is also ascribed to Chen Boda 陈伯达 (1904-1989), a secretary to Mao prominent in the leadership of the Cultural Revolution.

The shared gesture of greeting and praise practised by foreground figures, together with the poster slogan, suggests that it represents the ritual known as 'Asking for instructions in the morning, and making a report at night' (早请示晚汇报). Common during the Cultural Revolution the ritual took many forms, public and private. At home, the ritual might involve having family members bow in the morning before a Mao portrait, sometimes hung in place of familial ancestral images, telling him their revolutionary plans for the day; at day's end, they might again bow before the portrait and report. In public, before offices and stores opened, students started class, and production teams began work, all might stand before a portrait of Chairman Mao, bow with the *Quotations* in hand, and then raise their arms above their heads to cheer:

> Wishing the great leader, the great teacher, the great commander, the great helmsman, [and] our hearts' reddest, reddest red sun Chairman Mao a long life, long life, long life! Wishing the close ally of Chairman Mao, Deputy Commander Lin [Biao], good health, good health forever, good health forever!
>
> 敬祝伟大的领袖、伟大的导师、伟大的统帅、伟大的舵手、我们心中最红最红的红太阳毛主席万寿无疆，万寿无疆，万寿无疆！敬祝毛主席的亲密战友、我们的林副统帅身体健康，永远健康，永远健康!

The morning ritual normally included singing 'The East is Red' and reading from the *Quotations*. The evening portion of the public ritual typically allowed for reviewing the day before an image of Mao, and singing 'Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman' (大海航行靠舵手), a song aptly chosen for the end of the daybecause it concludes with the line 'Mao Zedong Thought is the sun that never sets.' (毛泽东思想是不落的太阳).

Mobilizing the Works of Chairman Mao

The final chapter of Mao's *Quotations* makes clear the importance of applying Mao Zedong Thought to daily life, a popular theme in contemporaneous posters in which figures are frequently portrayed reading, writing, or carrying books and other reading materials during their daily activities. This sensibility is articulated in the tenth quotation of this chapter:

> Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare. A person who has had no opportunity to go to school can also learn warfare - he can learn through fighting in war. A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning.
>
> 读书是学习，使用也是学习，而且是重要的学习。从战争学习战争——这是我们的主要方法。没有进学校机会的人仍然可以学习战争，就是从战争中学习。革命战争是民众的事，常常不是先学好了再干，而是干起来再学习，干就是学习。

By identifying multiple means by which a person might learn, the text expresses pragmatic, egalitarian approaches to knowledge acquisition and mobilization.

The works of Chairman Mao were mobilized by many means. Posters of this period clearly show the relation of reading to practice and vice-versa, thereby educating their viewers in the application of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao's calligraphy – the visual representation of his political ideas expressed in verse, mechanically reproduced for large audiences – revealed the might of the brush as an instrument of political change. In the international arena, foreign Communists and journalists, such as Mark and Suzanne Gayn, cast light on how the mobilization of Mao Zedong Thought was changing China, leading, at least in part, to the impact of the *Quotations* on revolutionary movements around the world.

40. Zang Erkang (b. 1936). ***Study for the Revolution; Truly Take Mao Zedong Thought in Hand.*** **Shenyang: Liaoning Fine Art Publishing House, August 1965. First edition, first printing.**

臧尔康 (1936年出生). 《为革命而学、把毛泽东思想真正学到手》. 沈阳: 辽宁美术出版社, 1965年8月第1版, 第1次印刷.

Perfectly illustrating the mobilization of Mao Zedong Thought, *Study for the Revolution; Truly Take Mao Zedong Thought in Hand* pictures two peasants in the fields reading and perhaps annotating a copy of Mao's philosophical work *On Practice*. Based on a series of 1937 lectures, *On Practice* outlines Mao's understanding of a 'dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and [...] dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.' (辩证唯物论的全部认识论, [...] 辩证唯物论的知行统一观). Citing the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, Mao asks, 'But how then does human knowledge arise from practice and in turn serve practice?' (然而人的认识究竟怎样从实践发生, 而又服务于实践呢?), concluding:

> Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level.

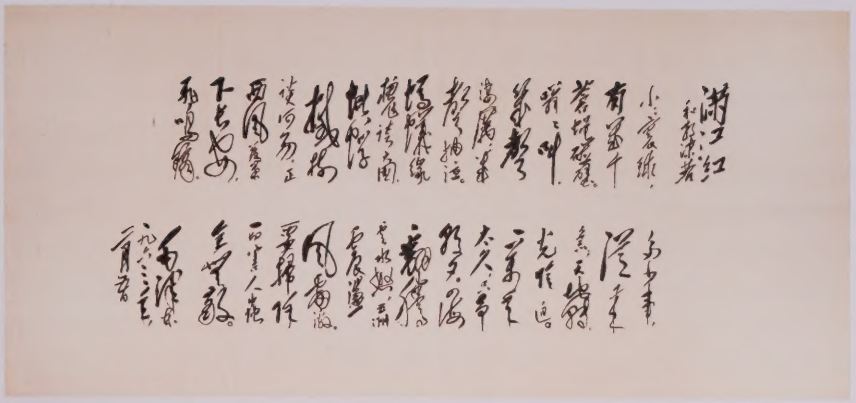
通过实践而发现真理，又通过实践而证实真理和发展真理。从感性认识而能动地发展到理性认识，又从理性认识而能动地指导革命实践，改造主观世界和客观世界。实践、认识、再实践、再认识，这种形式，循环往复以至无穷，而实践和认识之每一循环的内容，都比较地进到了高一级的程度。

Here Mao articulates how knowledge begins with experience, which can in turn transform the world. It is precisely through experience, and knowledge gained thereby, that the peasants pictured serve as a force of revolutionary change.

The slogans printed on the poster address practical applications of Maoist ideology. Specifically, the slogans recombine – in reverse order with slight modifications – two phrases from an article 'To make Revolution, [we] must thoroughly study the works of Chairman Mao' (要革命就要学好毛主席著作) published in the *People's Daily* on 23 May 1964, which describes the extraordinary study of Mao's works by PLA soldier Liao Chujiang 廖初江 (b. 1936). A subject of a 1964-1965 exhibition at the People's Revolution Military Museum 中国人民革命军事博物馆 visited by more than 700,000 viewers and entitled 'Liao Chujiang, Feng Fusheng, and Huang Zushi Study the Writings of Chairman Mao' (廖初江、丰福生、黄祖示学习毛主席著作展览), Liao was credited with transforming portable PLA blackboards into *Quotations* boards and was discussed in terms of dialectical-materialist theories of knowledge. Printed in Shenyang 沈阳, Liaoning province, where Liao served, this poster takes slogans associated with this locally-stationed hero and applies them in a new context in which they speak simultaneously to one of Mao's most difficult texts and to agricultural production.

41. Mao Zedong (1893-1976). ***Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo*** **[Guo Moruo] –** ***to the tune of Man Chiang Hung*** **[Manjiang hong], flocking-printed calligraphy facsimile. Ca. 1966-1976).**
毛澤東 (1893-1976). 法帖:《满江红·和郭沫若同志》, 植绒印本. 约1966-1976年.

Iconic photographs and paintings show Mao wielding the brush to write, his calligraphy an artifact conjoining his political and aesthetic sensibilities. An undated facsimile of Mao's poem, *Reply to Comrade Guo Moruo – to the tune of Manjiang hong* mechanically reproduces Mao's powerful cursive script calligraphy dated 5 February 1963. The famous 'wild cursive' (狂草) style of Huaisu 懷素 (737-799) – who, like Mao, was a native of Hunan province – served as an important model for Mao's own calligraphy as is evident in this



work. The strength of Mao's calligraphy is underscored by its unorthodox reproduction by flocking, the application of filaments to adhesive – in this case applied to the paper by printing. The furriness of the printed text visually suggests the bleeding of ink into paper while punning on Mao's surname, which is written using the same Chinese character as the word 'fur' (毛 *mao*).

Mao's poem written on 9 January 1963 is a powerful call to 'Seize the day, seize the hour!' (只争朝夕), thereby advancing revolutionary causes. A response to a poem by Guo Moruo, Mao composed his poem in the same song-lyric form as Guo's original, which was published in the *Guangming Daily* (光明日报) on 1 January 1963. Whereas Guo praises Mao's leadership and the accomplishments of the Chinese Revolution, Mao focuses on goals not yet realized, including international ones. Even as Guo implicates the *Selected Works* in the success of China's revolution, noting, 'Four great volumes,/ Show us the way.' (有雄文四卷, 为民立极.), Mao's own poem places its emphasis on practice: he writes, 'So many deeds cry out to be done,/ And always urgently;/' (多少事, 从来急). Rather than accept Guo's compliment, Mao focuses on the work that lies ahead.

42. Mark Gayn and Liu Shaoqi. 1947.
马克·盖恩与刘少奇在延安的合影. 1947 年.

Even as Mao's own writings and their practical application in everyday life mobilized Mao Zedong Thought, his ideology was also transmitted through interviews with journalists and other foreign visitors to China. This photograph (reproduced on p. 11), likely taken in 1947, perhaps at the Communist base of Yan'an, shows Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇 (1898-1969), already one of the most powerful political and military leaders in China – and from 1959 to 1968, President of the PRC (中华人民共和国主席) – with Mark Gayn. Although Gayn

notes having worked with translators, his education in Chinese primary and high schools provided him with linguistic facility in Chinese and cultural knowledge of China unmatched by most other foreign correspondents of his generation. Already an established journalist by the late 1940s, Gayn was the perfect conduit for the transmission of CPC perspectives to overseas audiences. Meeting him was thus well worth the time of a leader as important as Liu Shaoqi.

43a

Woodblock Printing and the Cultural Revolution

During the 1960s, wood-block printing flourished in China both as an art form and as an artistic style replicated in other media. The period is well known for hand-written 'large character posters' and for propaganda posters produced by major fine art presses. 'Large character posters' allowed for the direct production of political material by individuals, but were limited to editions of one. In contrast, propaganda posters produced by fine art presses in major urban centres were printed in large editions, but their production process was elaborate, requiring political consultation, design input by staff artists and designers, government approval to publish, and preparation for production in offset lithography. Woodblock printing combined the best of both of these modes of poster making: directness and ease of production by one person or a small group and the possibility of multiple, if not unlimited copies.

Woodblock printing, with its impeccable recent Leftist genealogy, was an ideal proletarian medium for the production and dissemination of images in New China, and later during the 1960s. It combined three important trends in Chinese pictorial arts, historical and modern. First, it was conversant with a long tradition of élite printed images of which extant examples are dated as early as the ninth century CE, images that often integrated text. Second, it drew upon a vibrant folk tradition of printed images, frequently used for ritual purposes (e.g., to print paper money to be burned for the dead) and/or for auspicious events (e.g., New Year's decorations), sustained both in dynastic China and in the twentieth century. Third, woodblock-printed images drew upon the innovations of the Modern Woodcut Movement 新興木刻運動 of the 1930s, which exposed Chinese viewers to new styles of woodcut images inflected by German Expressionism and Soviet Realism that illustrated Communist ideals. Thus the medium of woodblock printing perfectly suited Mao's desire for proletarian, ideological art for the masses.

43a. ***A Vast World Of Linked Red Hearts*****, 1968; lithographic reproduction. From** ***A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished: Celebrating the 23rd Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China.*** **Ca. October 1972.**
《广阔天地练红心》, 1968 年; 重印本. 自《广阔天地大有作为: 庆祝中华人民共和国成立二十三周年》. 约1972年10 月.

43b. 'The East is Red' Revolutionary Headquarters of the Fudan University Red Guards, Shanghai. *Seven Hundred Million People [Equals] Seven Hundred Million Soldiers*, 1969; lithographic reproduction. From *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished: Celebrating the 23rd Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China.* Ca. October 1972.
上海复旦大学红卫兵'东方红'造反总部.《七亿人民七亿兵》, 1969 年; 重印本. 自《广阔天地大有作为: 庆祝中华人民共和国成立二十三周年》. 约1972年10 月.

43c. *Take Charge of the Revolution, Promote Production, Promote Work, Promote Combat Readiness*; lithographic reproduction. From *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished: Celebrating the 23rd Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China.* Ca. October 1972.
《抓革命, 促生产, 促工作, 粗战备》; 重印本. 自《广阔天地大有作为: 庆祝中华人民共和国成立二十三周年》. 约1972年10 月.

43d. *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished*; lithographic reproduction. From *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished: Celebrating the 23rd Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China.* Ca. October 1972.
《广阔天地大有作为》; 重印本. 自《广阔天地大有作为: 庆祝中华人民共和国成立二十三周年》. 约1972年10 月.

Even as woodblock prints served as a direct medium for the mechanical reproduction of large numbers of images, their popularity led them to be reprinted in conventional offset presses. *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished: Celebrating the 23rd Anniversary of the Establishment of the People's Republic of China* is a set of lithographic reproductions of woodblock prints from the seminal period of the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969, produced shortly after their original issue for the twenty-third anniversary of the establishment of the PRC in 1972. Despite their apparent simplicity, the prints contained in the set are not monochrome, which requires only the use of a single carved block. Rather, their use of both red and black ink indicates their fabrication with two blocks, a significantly more complicated process albeit one less difficult than multiblock colour printing.

The set provides an important overview of how during the Cultural Revolution woodblock printing established dialogues with folk arts and modern Leftist propaganda prints popular before 1949, expected sources for this proletarian art. *Seven Hundred Million People [Equals] Seven Hundred Million Soldiers* (cat. no. 43b) is based on peasant imagery, its sunflower pattern as closely related to papercuts as to peasant prints of auspicious New Year's imagery. Its rendering of Mao resonates with images of New Year's door gods standing at the alert to ward off evil. *Take Charge of the Revolution, Promote Production, Promote Work, Promote Combat Readiness*, not pictured above, features the strong black monochromatic figures that frequently appear in works associated with the Modern Woodcut Movement, embellishing them with red details, for example, the cover of Mao's *Quotations* and the lettering of the title of Mao's *Selected Works*. Here woodblock printing serves as a medium for propagating the power of Chairman Mao's books.

Unexpectedly, individual prints from *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished: Celebrating the 23rd Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China* also reveal their engagement with recent works of engraving and offset lithography. Depicting a woman riding a tractor, moving diagonally towards the viewer from rear left to front right, *A Vast World Of Linked Red Hearts* (cat. no. 43a) reprises the imagery of the one *yuan* 元 bill designed in 1960. Specifically, *A Vast World Of Linked Red Hearts* transforms the engraved, horizontal composition of the one *yuan* bill into a block-printed vertical one, substituting an image of Chairman Mao as the great red sun in a red circle in the upper right corner of the poster for the designation 'one *yuan*' (壹圓) contained within a red foliate oval in the upper righthand corner of the bill. Although Liu Chunhua's *Chairman Mao Goes to Anyuan* is said to have been the most frequently reproduced image in the world, in fact, the image of the woman riding a tractor on the one *yuan* bill, because of its inextricable link to this basic unit of Chinese currency, was probably printed even more times than Liu's painting.

Finally, the eponymous *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished*, (cat. no. 43d) translates the imagery of offset lithographic posters in the linear aesthetic of woodcuts. The painted figures, detailed texts within the picture, and backgrounds full of the Red Flags of Mao Zedong Thought of lithographic posters, for example, *Raise High the Great Red Flag of Mao Zedong Thought to Carry Out to the End the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* published by the Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House in July 1967 (cat. no. 38), are not easily rendered in the medium of woodblock printing. This is because lithographic posters rely on areas of color rather than line to render forms. Even if not perfectly successful – the imagery is flat and chromatically undifferentiated in comparison with a lithograph, and lacking clean definitive lines in comparison with a good woodcut –

in *A Vast World Where Much Can Be Accomplished* the polished aesthetic of Shanghai commercial art lithographs enters the new and experimental realm of proletarian art shaped by the medium of woodblock printing.

44. *Musical Settings for the Poems of Chairman Mao.* Beijing: China Record Company, ca. 1967-1976.
《为毛主席诗词谱曲（歌曲）》. 北京: 中国唱片总公司, 约1967-1976年.

As a medium predicated on the transposition of drawing to relief carving and thence to mechanically reproduced works on paper and other supports, woodblock printing is ideal for rendering a portrait of Mao on the cover of *Musical Settings for the Poems of Chairman Mao*, a book that transforms poetic texts into song lyrics. The woodcut portrait of Mao wearing a PLA uniform dominates the cover of this songbook, offset by a red background. Frequently used in a wide variety of publications, including Red Guard newspapers, this iconic woodcut portrait of Mao was often paired with textual excerpts from the *Quotations*. The ease with which this schematic image could be reproduced increased its popularity in the early years of the Cultural Revolution. Produced for release with a phonograph record of the same title, the cover of the songbook is different from that of the record sleeve, which bears a famous photograph of Mao at the beach associated with his title of Great Helmsman; in many cases, record sleeve and accompanying songbook share cover art (e.g., cat. no. 18), but here they differ, underscoring the conceptual value of using a woodcut to indicate the transformation of poems to songs.

Musical Settings for Poems of Chairman Mao contains fifteen musical settings for Mao's poetry. These begin with 'Changsha – to the tune "Spring in the Qin Garden (*Qinyuan chun*)"' (沁园春·长沙) of 1927 and end with 'Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo [Guo Moruo] – to the tune of "Man Chiang Hung [*Manjiang hong*, lit. 'River Filled with Red']"' (满江红·和郭沫若同志) of 1963; on this poem see also cat. no. 41. Perhaps more importantly, this songbook opens with Lin Biao's calligraphy of the slogan: 'Sailing seas depends on the helmsman, making revolution depends on Mao Zedong Thought.' (大海航行靠舵手,干革命靠毛泽东思想). The choice of this slogan is significant: just as the poems in *Musical Settings for Poems of Chairman Mao* acquired sonic dimension through the arrangements published in that book, Lin's slogan had already been transformed into the song 'Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman,' noted above (cat. no. 39).

45. Wei Zhenbao (b. 1944). *After Class*; lithographic reproduction. From *The Flowers of Daqing Blooming in a Shipyard*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press, 1975. First edition.
魏振保(1944年出生).《课后》,石版画再印本.自《船台盛开大庆花》.上海:上海人民出版社,1975年11月第1次印.

Used as a medium for educating people in China about Communist ideals from the genesis of the Modern Woodcut Movement in the 1930s, woodblock printing served not only a didactic function, but was also suited to recording the effects of Communist education. *After Class* pictures three female workers continuing to discuss various materials after the end of their class. One of them holds a copy of *Gongchandang xuanyan* (共产党宣言), the Chinese-language translation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *Communist Manifesto*. Another young worker has a Chinese dictionary on her lap. The third appears to take notes from a blackboard, the back side of which is visible to the viewer. The theme of women's literacy and knowledge of Communist ideology is enhanced by the presence of the *People's Daily* and the magazine *Hong qi* (红旗, lit. 'The Red Flag'), as well as by writing on the brown bag belonging to one of the women in the foreground.

The medium of woodblock printing implies transpositions between media, and also possesses the ability to refashion itself in the image of other forms of visual representation. One of a set of ten images illustrating the impact of the culture of productivity of the Daqing Oilfields 大庆油田 on a shipyard, perhaps in Shanghai, *After Class* uses several different techniques that push the medium of woodblock printing past its customary form of thick black line on a light coloured background. These include using colours other than black to outline forms, incorporating the lush, wet colours of ink painting within the linear structure of woodblock printing, and creating colour-on-colour areas of texture, for example, the gray on gray random pattern of the background; colour woodblock printing requires the use of one block for each colour, and the careful registration of all blocks to achieve the complete image. As in the case of all of the images in *The Flowers of Daqing Blooming in a Shipyard*, the reproduction of *After Class* by lithography not by wood-block printing achieved the aesthetic of a complex, multicoloured woodblock print with the ease of polychrome printing afforded by lithography.

46. Zhang Bangji (b. 1937). *Fighting Village*; lithographic reproduction. From *Vietnam Must Win, the U.S. Must Lose*, collection 4. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Press, February 1966. First printing.
张邦辑 [sic: 张邦楫] (1937年出生).《战斗村》.自《越南必胜、美国必败,4》.上海:上海人民美術出版社,1966年2月,第1次印刷.

Fighting Village exemplifies the sustained use of monochrome woodblock prints in the style pioneered by artists associated with the Modern Woodcut Movement of the 1930s for post-1949 propaganda purposes. A female guerrilla fighter in traditional Vietnamese costume stands on guard as other fighters place land mines under the road outside a village. Zhang's use of monochrome beautifully signals the integration of the guerilla fighter into the landscape. In the case of the foreground figure, her black pants blend seamlessly into the foliage and shadows surrounding her. In the case of the figures planting mines, their white blouses and bamboo hats create triangular patterns that mirror the zigzag pattern of the illuminated portions of the path.

Drawn from the fourth collection of *Vietnam Must Win, the U.S. Must Lose*, a series of images promoting Vietnamese victory over the United States (for another image in this series, see cat. no. 10) produced by artists from Anhui province, an important centre of woodblock printing beginning in the Ming dynasty, *Fighting Village* is an artifact of the merging of a long local tradition of woodblock printing with twentieth-century uses of the medium driven by politics. Zhang Bangji 张邦楫 (b. 1937) whose name is incorrectly printed on the image and later in his career has been known as Zhang Yiji 张一楫, produced this work not long after his 1961 graduation from the Art Department 艺术系 of the Anhui Art Academy 安徽艺术学院. Zhang's early career as a woodblock print artist was immensely successful: his woodblock prints were both shown in exhibitions of national scope and reproduced in publications for national distribution. Since the 1980s, Zhang Yiji's work has shifted away from woodblock print-making to seal carving and calligraphy. Just as Zhang's expertise in woodblock carving is an asset to his work as a seal carver, his sensitivity to monochrome line, gained through his work as a woodblock print artist, is valuable to his practice as a calligrapher.

47. Wu Qiangnian (b. 1937). ***The People of South Vietnam Must Win the Fight against U. S. Imperialism!*** **Beijing: People's Fine Art Publishing House, April 1965. First edition, second printing, May 1965.**
吴强年 (1937年出生).《越南南方人民的反美斗争必胜!》北京: 人民美術出版社, 1965年4月第1次印; 1965年5月第2次印.

A product of the People's Fine Art Publishing House in Beijing, this poster makes central a multicolour woodblock printed image of a Viet Cong soldier, accented by what appears to be a graded gouache background and a red-letter slogan. This commercially-printed, offset lithographed poster disseminated Wu's work in the monochromatic style of the Modern Woodcut Movement further and faster than would have been possible in its original medium of woodblock printing. Specifically, this poster was the product of a second printing that added an addi-

tional 35,000 copies to an initial run of 20,200. Print runs of this size could not be realized with a carved block of wood without damage to the block. Furthermore, this technique of reproductive printing takes the original print by the Gaozhou 高州, Guangdong native, who was a 1958 graduate of the Central Academy of Fine Arts High School 中央美术学院附中 in Beijing, and embellishes it with colour likely not original to the work, colour retouching of a monochrome original in the photolithographic process far more easily and accurately achieved than executing the same image in multiblock colour woodblock printing.

The poster gives visual form to how, from the early 1960s – before the start of the Cultural Revolution – the PRC targeted American imperialism as a significant enemy and how it provided moral support to Vietnamese Communists. Rendering a Viet Cong soldier with spoliated rifles slung over his shoulder, the captured American soldiers from whom they were taken pictured in the background, the poster implies the victory of the North Vietnamese Army. Before the start of the Cultural Revolution the PRC provided substantial military and economic aid to North Vietnam. From around 1966 China focused on furnishing moral and ideological support to the North Vietnamese, included exporting Maoist and anti-U.S. propaganda to Vietnam. The struggle of Vietnamese Communists for liberation is here figured in the medium of woodblock printing, which previously had been used in China to support Communist interests during the Civil War (1945-1949) and PRC interests during the Korean War (1950-1953).

48. Yan Han (1916-2011). *Launching the Guerilla Landmine Campaign*. Zhengding county, Hebei: Fine Art Factory, Northern China United University, before 1949.
彦涵 (1916-2011).《开展民兵爆炸运动》. 河北省, 正定縣: 華大美術工廠, 1949年前.

One of a set of highly coloured peasant-style, multi-block woodcuts, Launching the Guerilla Landmine Campaign is an example of Communist propaganda articulated in the medium of vernacular printing, albeit of the highest quality. Launching the Guerilla Landmine Campaign was first printed in colour by the Fine Art Factory of

Northern China United University 華大美術工廠 in Zhengding county 正定縣, Hebei, which in 1954 became the Hebei Fine Art Publishing House 河北美術出版社. The Hebei Fine Art Publishing House specialized in, among other things, the production of New Year's prints. In 1950, Yan Han began teaching at the Central Academy of Fine Arts 中央美术学院 in Beijing at which time *Launching the Guerilla Landmine Campaign* was reproduced by the Rongbaozhai Studio 榮寶齋 (lit. 'Studio of Glorious Treasures'), and issued as one of a suite of New Year's Prints first published before 1949. Both editions of this print are on display in this exhibition, with the Fine Art Factory of Northern China United University edition reproduced here.

This work, dated to before 1949, elevates the representational schema associated with New Year's prints into a work of propaganda. The three fields into which the print is divided reveal different aspects of the landmine campaign. The top register depicts peasants laying landmines. The bottom register images a booby-trapped forest in which mines hang from trees behind which are found defensive fortifications. In the main, central field three peasants – two men and a woman – carry various arms, namely rifle, grenade, and mine waging guerilla warfare amidst the lush and beautiful landscape of the Chinese countryside. It is precisely this kind of print that served as the progenitor of images such as Fighting Village (cat. no. 46).

Coming of age as an artist during the Sino-Japanese War, Yan Han 彦涵 (1916-2011), whose birth name was Liu Baosen 刘宝森, served the Eighth Route Army by making propaganda prints of their exploits. A graduate of the Fine Art Department 美术系 of the Lu Xun Academy of Art and Literature 鲁迅艺术文学院 in Yan'an, the Communist base at which Mao give his famous 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Art and Literature' in May 1942, Yan Han acquired his training in woodblock print-making there. By mobilizing his art in the service of the Communist Army, and by taking the visual idiom of local peasants as his own, Yan Han created works that communicated important propaganda messages in simple but beautiful terms. Proximate to the most important institution of and events in Communist art theory and practice, Yan Han mobilized the artistic ideals that Mao described. Thus he and his work acquired significant status, leading to his serving as Chair of the department that had graduated him from 1943 to 1949, and to his work on the Monument to the People's Heroes in Beijing.

49. Feng Zhen (b. 1931). ***Children's Theatre*, 1948; reproduction by proprietary process. From *Selected Works of New Year's Prints*, edited by China National Art Workers' Association. Beijing: Rongbaozhai xinji, 1950.**
冯真 (女, 1931年出生).《娃娃戲》, 1948年; 再印本. 自《新年畫選集》, 中華全國美術工作協會編輯. 北京: 榮寶齋新記, 1950年.

The concerns voiced about American Imperialism in Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung had a long history of appearing in woodblock prints. This image by Feng Zhen 冯真 (b. 1931), a female artist affiliated with the CPC, began as a gouache sketch for a New Year's print. Like Yan Han's *Launching the Guerilla Landmine Campaign* (cat. no. 48), Feng Zhen's *Children's Theatre* was first published by the Fine Art Factory of Northern China United University and subsequently reprinted by the new Rongbaozhai Studio, a woodblock printing concern located in Beijing's Liulichang 琉璃廠 re-established in October 1950 as a joint private-state business. Originally founded in 1894 as a branch of the art business Songzhuzhai 松竹齋 (lit. 'Pine Bamboo Studio'), which first went into business in 1672, Rongbaozhai specializes even today in a watercolour technique suited to reproducing famous works of art. Both versions of the print are on display in this exhibition, with the Rongbaozhai edition of *Children's Theatre* illustrated here.

This print combines the imagery of children found in some traditional Chinese New Year's prints with that of *huobaoju* (lit. 'living newspaper skits'), a type of propaganda performance pioneered in the Soviet Union and transmitted to China. The image shows children some of whom are dressed in the uniforms of the PLA, as labelled by text on the pocket of the boy at centre right wearing a fur-lined PLA hat, and others of whom wear civilian clothing, the uniform of guerilla fighters, attacking two children who impersonate China's enemies. One of these represents the United States: he wears a red, white, and

blue shirt and the tall hat of Uncle Sam, which bears the label 'American Imperialist' (美帝國主義) in traditional characters; he carries a toy plane representative of the air support that the United States provided to Nationalist troops during China's Civil War. The battering of the US in the conflict is indicated by the fake nose worn by this child: the large nose of a foreigner, it is rendered bloodied by combat. The other of these children wears a cartoonish mask: he is meant to represent General Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975), leader of the Nationalist forces, and bears a placard around his neck with Chiang's name on it; he clings to the American figure, cowering from the advances of the children representing the PLA and guerilla fighters.

'Living newspaper skits' died out in the Soviet Union by the 1920s, but remained popular in China through the end of the Cultural Revolution. Mark and Suzanne Gayn attended a number of these performances, of which they took photographs. Examples of these include: Mark Gayn's *No holiday passes without political playlets in the city parks* of 1965 (cat. no. 12e), and Suzanne Gayn's *Playlet showing the Vietnamese chasing U.S. imperialists out of their country* of 1967 (cat. no. 12f). *Children's Theatre* is thus an important artifact for understanding the genealogy of both anti-American posters and playlets that persisted in China during the 1960s.

50a. ***Selections from Revolutionary Songs*, sides 1-2. Beijing: China Record Company, 1965.**
《革命歌曲选，第一集》. 北京: 中国唱片总公司, 1965年.

50b. ***Selections from Revolutionary Songs*, sides 5-6. Beijing: China Record Company, 1965.**
《革命歌曲选，第三集》. 北京: 中国唱片总公司, 1965年.

A lush woodblock design of goldfish swimming in water decorates the sleeves of two records from the series, *Selections from Revolutionary Songs* (革命歌曲选). Here, the simple but sinuous linearity of the carving gives form to the fluttering goldfish fins. Although reproduced by offset lithography, the jacket design nonetheless suggests a folk rendering of this subject. The monochrome jade green ink on cream-coloured paper reinforces both the feeling of a woodblock printed design and the subject matter of fish and water.

Given the proliferation of overtly political imagery on China Record Company record sleeves of the 1960s, the folk woodblock-style image of gold fish appears odd and its relation to the songs of the series is not readily transparent to all viewers. However, the first

song of the entire collection is 'Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman' (大海航行靠舵手), briefly discussed above (cat. nos. 18, 30, 39). Its lyrics provide the imagery for the record sleeves, namely the lines: '[Just as] Fish cannot leave the water,/ [Nor] Melons leave [their] vines, the Revolutionary Masses are inseparable from the Communist Party.' (鱼儿离不开水呀, 瓜儿离不开秧. 革命群众离不开共产党). By featuring fish in water, the record jacket alludes to these song lyrics, the line itself and its context, thus beautifully but obliquely imaging a foundational premise of the CPC on record sleeves for a series of albums promoting patriotism through music.

12b. Mark Gayn (1902-1981). Anti-American propaganda posters on display in a street in west China (中国西部的一个城市、街上抗美宣传画廊). 1965. On this work, please see p. 42.

Acknowledgements

Initiated by Dr. Stephen Qiao 乔晓勤, Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library at the University of Toronto, and robustly supported by the staff of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library under the leadership of Anne Dondertman and the direct and expert guidance of Elizabeth Ridolfo, preparation for this exhibition and catalogue included the teaching of a fourth-year undergraduate seminar in the Department of History of Art, St. George Campus, 'Exhibiting China' (FAH 465) in the fall term of 2015. The twenty-one students in that course drafted object labels, selected themes definitive of the period, debated the larger concept of the exhibition, and made competing designs for its spatial design and the installation of objects. Divided into four groups, they prepared their own virtual exhibitions on the topic of reading and literacy during China's Cultural Revolution.

The work presented here is not the work produced by the students in FAH 465. But this exhibition and catalogue would not also exist in their current form without the vibrant, weekly discussions of the material that took place in our seminar. Thus I acknowledge the input and impact of the following students on my work for this exhibition and catalogue: Su Yen Chong; Vivian Chong; Nadia Galletto; Krystal Chuni Huang; Leona Huang Huang; Sian Last; Angela Yijing Li; Yihua Li; Amelia Pitchay Gani; Martin Ren; Mary Catherine Riddell; Peter Yifei Shao; Jonathan Sharf; Patricia Tabascio; Alisa Taube; Inggrid Wibowo; Dominique Wisdom; Katlyn Wooder; Shujie Wu; Chun Zhao; Amelia Xinran Zhu. Two students – Nadia Galletto and Martin Ren – also wrote final papers for the course on the topic of reading and literacy; again, while different from my own approach, this exhibition and catalogue benefit from my reading of their work.

This is an extraordinary group of undergraduate students. Able, as a group, to read widely in many languages, including Chinese, English, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, and Malay, they brought a diversity of perspectives on the period to the class. In the best spirit of collaboration, those students who read Chinese (roughly half the class) worked together with students who did not, pooling their talents to do research in Chinese primary sources and present their findings in English. Passionate and gifted researchers, they cast much light on the objects in the Gayn collection, principally those found online on Flickr and uncatalogued posters some of which are on display in this exhibition.

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